

Is Drapeau's bubble about to burst?

by Debbie Littman
and Brian Tannenbaum

"Expo was great, and Drapeau deserves the credit. But when Christmas is over, you don't keep celebrating."

"And in this town, Christmas is over."

So spoke Union leader George Plummer who has organized angry taxpayers in protest against the Drapeau-Saulnier administration. It seems that Terre des Hommes, the Metro, the baseball scheme and the impressive downtown expressways which have all brought the city so much prestige have also added up to a city debt of \$700 million and the highest property tax in North America.

Indicative of the unhealthy financial situation in Montreal is the current hassle between Drapeau and the municipal workers, who intend to stage a half-day walkout next Wednesday to publicize their case.

Until the dispute came into the open last December, following Drapeau's announcement that the city would not be pay-

ing into the workers' pension fund for the next two years, the facade that all was well in "la belle ville" could be maintained. No more. This first direct confrontation with Drapeau could be the beginning of the end for his civic government.

This newest move by Drapeau, which was given legality by the Legislative Assembly last December in Bill 295, is the latest attempt to make up the overwhelming city debt, which amounts to \$27 million for the year.

Previous schemes to raise the money through a voluntary tax (whose legality is still before the courts) and the 8% provincial sales tax have fallen woefully short of their mark by \$23 and \$10 million respectively. So Drapeau is now hoping that the \$19 million saved on the employees' pensions, combined with the 23% hike in property taxes, will even out the city's finances.

But civic employees are determined that this evening out not be at their expense. As Louis Laberge, President of the Quebec

Federation of Labour said, "If our municipal leaders' politique de grandeur has placed the city in financial difficulties, it is not fair that the employees be made to pay for it."

Since they will have to pay the increased property taxes — now up from \$1.30 to \$1.60 per \$100 of valuation — along with the rest of Montreal citizens, municipal workers feel it is unjust to have to contribute from their pension fund as well.

Along with this goes the fear that withdrawal of city contributions will mean the sure death of the pension fund. One Union leader claimed the move would ruin the fund within ten years. He also predicted that money from the fund used to finance low-cost mortgages would dry up. Drapeau and Saulnier have both reassured the workers — including policemen, firemen, snow removal crews, etc — that the pension fund would not be affected by the loss. The dynamic duo insists there is sufficient revenue from investments to insure the



DRAPEAU

The monolith cracks

Continued on page 3

McGILL DAILY

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At Sir George

Blacks-administration conflict escalates

by Sheryl Taylor-Munro

Seven black students at Sir George Williams University confronted Vice-Principal John O'Brien in his office Wednesday to protest a letter sent by him to Prof. Perry Anderson. The next round of the conflict will come Sunday, when the administration will hear charges against Anderson and blacks will hold a counter-hearing.

In the letter, O'Brien suggested that there was "the possibility of violence" in connection with the racial charges that had been laid against Prof. Anderson by black students.

Anderson had been accused of altering the final marks of six black students last April 28. In the ensuing dispute, Anderson stopped teaching.

Prof. F. S. Abbot, who took over Anderson's class this month, last week read out in class O'Brien's letter to Anderson in which he suggested that Anderson not teach until the matter was clarified because of "the possibility of violence".

When the seven students visited O'Brien Wednesday night, to ask about the letter, he told them that he remembered nothing about the phrase "possibility of violence".

At that point, O'Brien attempted to leave his office, but the students refused until the matter was clarified.

He finally found the letter, complete with the "violence" phrase, after the students insisted he look for it.

The students requested that O'Brien write an apology for "not remembering" about the phrase and for the letter. He also wrote that he was not under duress when he signed the apology.

At the time of signing the apology and duress statements, O'Brien had promised to appear at a noon meeting yesterday of black students, but he did not turn up. Instead, the 800 students who showed up joined by others who watched on closed-circuit television in the university, heard black spokesmen outline the latest developments.

"Because of the atmosphere of coercion created by the language and attitudes of the students and by the occupation of Vice-principal O'Brien's office, the matter is now under police investigation," stated the administration.

The University has set up a committee, composed of five faculty members, to hear charges against Anderson. The hearing will begin at 9 am Sunday.

Simultaneously, Black students will hold a counter-hearing, charging that the administration's committee is not impartial.

Education committee starts work

"Clearing-house" meets

by Robert Miller

The 'students' Society Education Committee, comprised of representatives from almost all the student-department and faculty associations and unions, met yesterday for the first time to discuss the problems facing students in each discipline and to attempt to determine the "nature and purpose of the university".

The Committee, it is hoped, will serve as a clearinghouse for ideas and techniques of changing the methods, orientation and content of what's being taught at the university.

Robert Hajaly, President of the Students' Society, sees it as a liaison between the student groups and the Senate Academic Policy Committee, which he yesterday called the most progressive Senate Committee.

According to Hajaly, student presentations could conceivably be accepted by that Committee and pressure could be applied on Faculty and department heads to implement the desired change.

Hajaly also promised to make available to the student groups money and facilities of the Students' Society.

While the discussion first concentrated on presentations of the various ills in each discipline, later freewheeling debate arose over the type of philosophical framework necessary to guide the nature of students' demands for change.

Favouring a "critical univer-

sity, a University conscious of its potential as an agent of social change," Hajaly touched on the major issues concerning university students everywhere, namely teaching methods, research as opposed to teaching done by professors, and grading. A professor doing research, he said, is eligible for rewards and promotion, while a profess-

or who merely teaches is not; Students, he concluded, "don't have the buying power".

Arts and Science representatives discussed specific proposals for change, while the members from Law, Engineering, physiotherapy, and nursing discussed ways of organizing students in these disciplines.

Deans on way out - first step today

Senate's Nominating Committee meets at 2 pm today on the fifth floor of the Administration Building to consider the composition of selection committees which will decide on replacements for five deans and a vice-principal.

Among the deans whose number is to come up this term are Maxwell Cohen (Law), Harry Woods (Arts and Science), and Stanley Frost (Graduate Studies and Research).

Both Woods and Frost are members of the 18-man Nominating Committee. Among the other members are Principal H. Locke Robertson, Academic Vice-Principal Michael Oliver, Chemistry Professor Leo Yaffe, and Students' Society representatives Robert Hajaly and Ian Hyman.

The selection committees will include equal numbers of representatives from Senate and from the faculty concerned. Final compositions are to be approved by Senate at its next meeting.

The Nominating Committee will also consider the restructuring of the Committee on Student Disciplinary Regulations, which is to overhaul the present discipline code. Students' Council has proposed its replacement by a university-wide code, applicable to and drafted by faculty as well as students.

Also on the agenda for today's meeting is the composition of the University Libraries Commission, which will review present administrative policies for the library system. This commission was established by Senate against the wishes of Dean Frost, who is also head of the committee which is now in charge of the library.

today

ISLAMIC SOCIETY: Juma Prayers. Union 307, 1:15 pm.

POST GRADUATE STUDENTS SOCIETY: Beer Bash, Admission 50c. 9 pm - 1 am.

COURSE GUIDE: Editorial Meeting. Union 452, 1 pm.

CANADA HOUSE PRESS: Sales meeting for the sing song. Union office, 3 pm.

STUDENT ART EXHIBITION: Union 123-124, 9 am - 6 pm.

AFRICAN STUDENT ASSOCIATION: General Meeting. Union 301 7 pm.

PRE-MED SOCIETY: Film Festival, "Elective Rhinoplasty". S1/4, 1 pm.

SOCIETY FOR KRISHNA CONSCIOUSNESS: Dance and chant, 3720 Park Ave., 7 pm.

MCGILL FILM SOCIETY: Serie d'essai, L132, 8 pm.

SOCIOLOGY 408b Meeting. Library rm. M5. 17B, 4 pm.

VIETNAMESE STUDENT SOCIETY: Meeting. Union-b27, 5 pm.

NEWMAN CENTRE: Mass followed by supper, 3484 Peel, 5 pm, 6:15 pm.

INDIAN PROGRESSIVE STUDY GROUP: Symposium on "Food and Population". Hall Bldg. H1070 SGWU. 8 pm.

M.O.C.: Swim party, Continental refreshments. Currie gym, 7:30 pm.

UNION CAFETERIA: Meal Tickets at reduced prices on sale at box office.

MATHEMATICS SOCIETY: Lecture "Applications of Statistics". McConn. Eng. Bldg. rm 210, 1 pm.

FLYING CLUB: Executive meeting. Union B27, 1 pm.

WEST INDIAN SOCIETY: Organization and program suggestions. Union Ballroom 7:30 pm.

E.I.C.: Student paper coming soon. McConn. Eng. Bldg.

SOCIOLOGY STUDENTS UNION: Discussion Sociology 210. Leacock 738, 12 noon.

CYCOM: Registration for new members. E-406, 1 pm. Assembler Course. E-279, 1 pm.

MOTORCYCLE CLUB: Meeting. Union B26, 1 pm.

PRE-MED SOCIETY: First Aid Certificates. S1/4, 1 pm. B47, 2 pm.

POLITICAL SCIENCE ASSOCIATION: Meeting to elect members to Executive. Union Ballroom, 1 pm. Section Meeting. Leacock Council Room, 2:30 pm.

YOUNG SOCIALIST CLUB: General meeting. B26, 2 pm.

SATURDAY

FIGURE SKATING CLUB: Practice. Winter Stadium, 10 am - 12 noon.

STUDENT ART EXHIBITION: Union 123-124, 9 am - 6 pm.

STUDENTS' BHAKTI-YOGA COURSE: Sign up for course. 3720 Park Ave. 10 am - 12:30 pm.

MCGILL FILM SOCIETY: "How I Won the War" with John Lennon. PSCA, 6:30 - 9 pm.

SANDWICH THEATRE: "No Exit" by Sartre. Union Theatre, 1 pm.

CHINESE STUDENT SOCIETY: Meeting of Mandarin class. Union B24-25, 12 noon.

INDIAN PROGRESSIVE STUDY GROUP: Symposium, "Population and Food". Hall Bldg., H-1070, SGWU, 2 pm.

M.O.C.: House open.

SAVOY SOCIETY: Union 307. Girls: 1:30 pm, orchestra 2 pm, men: 2:30 pm.

SUNDAY

CANTERBURY: Dinner. 3555 University, 6-7 pm.

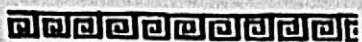
M.O.C.: Trip to Mont Echo. Rod-dick Gates, 7:30 am.

SOCIETY FOR KRISHNA CONSCIOUSNESS: Prasadam Love-Feast. 3720 Park, Noon - 2 pm.

NEWMAN CENTRE: Mass Centre. 10 am, 7:15 pm. Divinity Hall, 12 noon.

AUGUSTIANA HOUSE: Lutheran Worship Service. 3483 Peel, 7 pm. NFB film "encounter with Saul Alinsky", Discussion. 8 pm.

CHINESE STUDENTS SOCIETY: Singing practice. RVC rm. 12, 2-4 pm.



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Up the Greek ????

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POLITICAL SCIENCE

The Political Science Association will meet today to elect a new chairman and fill the vacant Ph.D. post on the executive. Re-election of the fourth year honours representative will also be discussed. The meeting will start at 1 pm in the Union Ballroom.

Following this, the Political Science Section will meet at 2:30 in room 307 of the Union. On the agenda are reports from the various committees, proposals for new courses, and the issue of student representation on departmental committees.

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THE
MACDONALD
LASSIE

When the bubble bursts

Policemen may demonstrate...

Continued from page 1

payment of all benefits and administrative costs.

In spite of that reassuring pat on the back, the workers are still angry because they feel the whole affair shows bad faith on the part of the city. They say it is a violation of the acquired rights principle of labor-management relations which states that once a right or a benefit is given to labour, it is not withdrawn.

And that is precisely what the city is doing. The pension, established in 1892, is an old benefit. It is largely financed by member contributions, and it currently has a capital of \$42 million. The city has made an annual contribution to the fund of

11%. The trend on the part of the city has been until last December a growing commitment to the fund. For example, in 1958 payment of half pensions was granted to widows of civic employees. In 1965 pension payments were raised from 2 to 2.5% of average wages. Then, in July 1965, the city raised its contribution to the fund to \$8.8 million dollars, an increase of \$320,000 over the previous year. Now, with the passage of Bill 295, what had been a growing commitment, has become no commitment at all.

All this has understandably left the workers agitated. The normally peaceful firemen's union, has authorized its leaders to take "radical action" if necessary, to make the city respect pension fund commitments.

Detective — Sergeant Roger Lavigne, President of the Police Benevolent Association and Pension Association has warned that "If the Province of Quebec continues to pass these bandit-type laws, we'll take up our arms and depose them."

Policemen are also muttering about having to uphold Drapeau's lottery but disallow other gambling.

The prospect that police might be in the forefront of demonstrations, instead of in control of them, has shaken municipal leaders.

Thus far however, action has been peaceful. The three labor organizations involved, Quebec Federation of Labor, Confederation of National Trade Unions and Montreal's Police Brotherhood, containing a total of eleven unions and more than 18,000 workers, have formed a united front. As a group they have appealed to Drapeau and Saulnier, offering to "lend" the city the money it would normally pay into the

fund. This proposal was turned down by the city.

Also rejected was the union's offer to accept payment in redeemable bonds, as proposed in the first draft of bill 295, before a last minute amendment absolved the city of all payments.

On January 10 the unions spoke to Quebec finance minister Paul Dozois, asking him to block the city's move. He replied that Quebec was in as uncomfortable financial straits as Montreal, and advised workers to "tighten their belts".

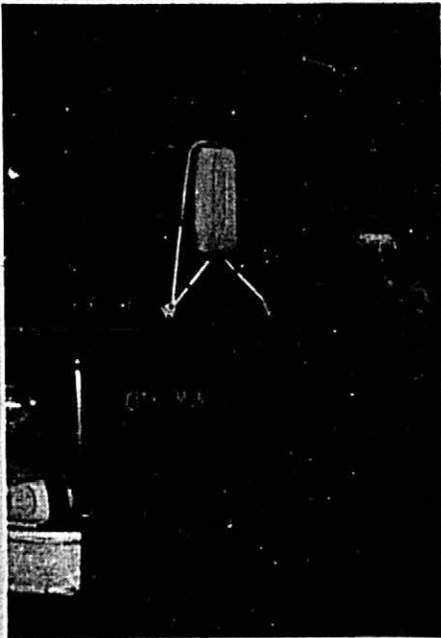
But workers refuse to take their self sacrifice so stoically. They are planning a half day protest strike, Wednesday January 29, which will involve all municipal workers, including policemen and firemen. (A minimum work force will be kept on in police and fire departments, so Montreal will not be left wholly unprotected.) Instead of going to their jobs, Wednesday afternoon, they will hold what they claim to be the "first general assembly of all the municipal workers of Montreal".

Whether or not Drapeau capitulates to workers' demands, the incident has pointed up the shaky financial position of Montreal. Saulnier himself admitted, in a meeting with Lavigne last November that the state of the city's finances were "as bad as in 1944 when the city was placed under trusteeship." Mayor Drapeau seems to be thrashing frantically about, looking for ways to solve the crisis.

The question seems to be, whether or not the city employees should be made to bear the burden of municipal mismanagement. The unions emphatically say no. "It was Drapeau's grand schemes that got us into financial trouble, they insist. "So let him find another grand scheme to get us out."



The policeman above may be one of the leaders of Wednesday's walkout, while city trucks are left driverless as civic workers demonstrate their dissatisfaction.



Daily photos by Leo Lax

3 "To every action, there is an equal and opposite reaction"

This student got zero when sick for exam

Last year I showed up two hours late for the last of my finals (Psych 300) full of aspirins and twinging molars. I was told by the professor I would have to "go thru channels" if I wanted to get any credit for the class at all.

That meant taking a supplemental exam where C is the highest possible exam and a zero is calculated into the grade average. Since it is my third year, any hope getting into graduate school was diminished by my average which included a "0".

Appeals and requests not to have the zero counted into the average have been useless and I am wondering what else could be done to avoid being loused up by this.

Robert Faltin,
B. Sc 4

Although you've spoken to Associate Dean Miles Weisenthal, you have not petitioned the Committee on Standings and Promotions, a committee of Senate responsible for such matters.

Mr. Ghobrial, the committee's recorder who arranges all the documents for that body, told The Daily: "Anyone can petition the committee." He added "if a student is sick, and present a doctor's certificate the committee permits a deferred exam." That means the August mark, and not a zero, is computed into the average.

Since you saw the dentist just after the exam finished, you shouldn't have too much trouble getting the medical proof necessary.

In any case, we suggest you go and talk it over with Mr. Ghobrial at Dawson Hall.

In and around McGill, students encounter problems of bureaucracy, red tape, discrimination. Much of the time, they have little recourse.

The aim of this column, which will be a regular feature in The Daily, is to open an avenue of recourse, and give readers a chance to air specific problems.

If you want to get an answer to something but get bogged down in bureaucracy, if you have problems with a landlord, if you need legal aid, if you encounter discrimination, if you get a D on a term paper and another professor gives you an A on the same paper — in any such case, we might be able to help you.

Please write McGill Daily, 3480 McTavish Street, or deliver your letter to the Daily office in the University Centre. Correspondence must be signed (names will be withheld on request) and telephone number should be included. In an urgent matter, call 849-2529 between 5 and midnight.

The prices change every ten minutes

Academic bookstore, at the corner of Sherbrooke and Peel, changes its prices every half-hour. I know five students who went to buy "Thermodynamics" by H. B. Callen on the same day and paid different prices. The first was charged \$9.85; the second, third and fourth paid \$10.85; and the fifth \$11.85.

Could you look into this please?

Peter Herscovitch
Hons Elect. 3

The attendant at the Academic Bookstore remembers the price fluctuations and said "The first copy was five years old, and all but the last were three years old." He added: "So we stored the books for those people for free."

In any case, with the McGill bookstore's "We shall not be undersold" policy and its 3% reduction, it's probably wisest to buy the book there. Except for one thing, they are all out of it and don't know when it will be in. They couldn't even say how much it would be.

The editor in-chief of the McGill Daily shall be...

Congratulations on your new "Action Line" or "3" column, although I never thought I'd see the Daily get into the Reaction business, Newtonian or otherwise.

I have a problem regarding which I have little recourse. Can you advise?

For some time now, I have been aspiring to the Editorship of the Daily. But I got bogged down in bureaucracy. Tangled in red tape. I also think I encountered discrimination.

I think it's time for an equal and opposite reaction. Can you help me?

George Radwanski,
BCL I

To quote a former editor: "There has been more trouble in selecting the last three editors of the Daily than the last five popes."

The last five editors of the McGill Daily have been appointed in four ways. Joy Fenston (1964-65) was appointed by the President of the Students' Society; Patrick MacFadden (1965-66) and Sandy Gage (1966-67) were selected by the Daily Managing Board and then went through all-night ratification sessions in Council; Peter Allnutt (1967-68) was selected by a committee of the Daily and of Council (loaded in favor of the Daily), and underwent a two-minute ratification in Council; Mark Starowicz was appointed after an emergency poll of campus and several stormy Council meetings. The moral of the story is that there is no way of knowing how the editor will be selected when he will be selected, and who will select him.

We also draw Mr. Radwanski's attention to an amendment to the Statement of Principles of the Canadian University Press passed at the annual conference over Christmas which states "The editor of the student newspaper should be chosen by the staff." We suggest therefore, that Mr. Radwanski present himself to the staff at the appropriate time as a candidate for the editorship.



I have here in my hand...

by
MARK
STAROWICZ

Twelve days ago, on the CTV public affairs program W5, former Secretary of State Judy LaMarsh charged that Radio-Canada, the French service of the CBC, was controlled by separatists, who operated as a sort of underground fifth column undermining the unity of the country.

Miss LaMarsh, during her colorful tenure of office, made so many ludicrous statements that most of the nation's press usually treats her latest vagaries in the same way they treat Charlotte Whitton's neuroses or Joe Papp and his magnificent submarine.

But when Miss LaMarsh says the magic word "separatism" then the artillery of the press stands to obedient attention. To their credit, in Le Devoir and La Presse, as well as the Montreal Star, the story of her charges got mild attention. Only The Gazette played the story large in Montreal.

The real offenders were the Toronto papers, in particular the Toronto Daily Star, who treated her pronouncements with the respect and concern it would normally accord to Peter C. Newman analysing the political philosophies of Joe Greene.

Subsequently the Toronto Star helped generate hysteria over a program broadcast in France, supposedly "sounding like it was cooked in René Lévesque's basement" with the drooling collaboration of Radio-Canada. The French network had suddenly come to the attention of English Canada.

That there are separatists in Radio-Canada is something hardly anyone familiar with the institution would doubt. In fact, it's something anyone passingly familiar with Québec would accept without having a coronary on the spot. Separatism is a fact of life here, despite how much Toronto would like to think it is some hysterical aberration.

But it is interesting that Ottawa is now taking an interest in Radio-Canada. Because English Canada's discovery of separatists in French television coincides with a very important anniversary, that of the 67-day long producers' strike at Radio-Canada in 1959. That strike was one of the most important events in the post-war social history of Québec. Ten years ago Ottawa ignored it, as if Radio-Canada were some forlorn outback waterhole; today, if it's getting paranoid over it, it is reaping some of the seeds it sowed in 1959.

The strike broke out on December 29, 1958, after the French producers were refused the right to unionize. In origin, then, it was a minor labor dispute. It blew up, over the next three months, into an intellectual cause célèbre which attracted to the picket line on Dorchester street such men as Pierre-Elliott Trudeau, Jean Marchand, Gérard Pelletier, Pierre Bourgault, and René Lévesque.

Both Bourgault and Lévesque have said that the 1959 strike was one of the major turning points in their thought, one of the major events that led them to conclude that Québec must become independent.

All the English administrators and producers working in the same building crossed the line (only one young English producer stuck with the Radio-Canada people). The federal labor minister in the Diefenbaker government, Michael Starr, refused to even see the strikers when they appealed to him. The Toronto producers, who were expected to support their striking colleagues in Montréal, didn't even send a message of sympathy.

As both Bourgault and Lévesque commented: "We realized that we were French, and that we were alone."

The two English Montreal papers attacked the striking producers consistently, and their coverage is a majestic study in conscious omission. In the rest of the country the strike was virtually ignored — the Toronto papers weren't that interested in Radio-Canada then. Bourgault has said that if the strike had taken place anywhere in English Canada, it would have been settled in three days. But of what damned importance was this native oddity, Radio-Canada?

At that time, René Lévesque was an announcer on a public affairs program, Point de Mire. Pierre Bourgault was a floor manager. Jean Marchand, who headed the CNTU, and Gérard Pelletier, who also worked for the CNTU, were two of the chief organizers of the strike; Marchand was arrested during a scuffle with police.

What made intellectuals like Trudeau and the rest of the Cité Libre group support the strikers was this disdain Ottawa and the rest of English Canada had for one of the pillars of Québec's culture. Radio-Canada has produced much of Québec's contemporary drama and music. It is one of the few institutions to which a Québec artist or intellectual can turn for his livelihood. Radio-Canada plays an essential role in keeping the culture of a decentralized province cohesive, and as such it has become a microcosm of Québec itself. That is why there are separatists in Radio-Canada.

Radio-Canada, not unlike its English counterpart, does have serious problems. Television is a rapidly expanding medium and has attracted many creative people, yet Radio-Canada is saddled with a civil-service bureaucracy that is incapable of giving it freedom to work. Charges like LaMarsh's don't help in lifting the heavy hand of bureaucracy off the producers.

In fact, the atmosphere of paranoia fostered by charges of separatism have led to cases of direct censorship, the most striking one being the Dévirieux case this past July. Claude-Jean Dévirieux, an announcer assigned to host the Radio-Canada television coverage of the St. Jean Baptiste parade, was suspended for "exaggerating" the news about the political demonstrations against Trudeau during the parade.

The next day it became known that Dévirieux and the coverage team had received instructions from the network administration to ignore any violence or demonstrations and to just cover the actual parade. Viewers were therefore treated

to the spectacle of chants and sirens in the background, and bottles flying in front of the cameras while the screen showed nothing but pretty floats and high school bands. It is because Dévirieux rebelled and described what was really happening that he was suspended the next day. The administration order to ignore the news must be Judy LaMarsh's idea of how to cover a demonstration. It should be evidence enough that separatists do not control Radio-Canada.

Also, the actual program content is closely recorded, and statistics are kept on the total amount of time devoted to specific subjects. Those statistics, available to any member or parliament and the press, demonstrate that over a period of months the total time of news and public affairs devoted to anything related to separatism was seven percent of the total content.

Miss LaMarsh's charges were remarkably unadorned with anything resembling statistics or instances of control of news, the only concrete reference having been to some individual who telephoned her to assure her there were separatists in Radio-Canada. Any man who telephones Judy LaMarsh must have the wrong number.

The suggestion that a separatist cannot cover Québec news is equally ridiculous. By these standards a federalist could not cover the House of Commons.

If Miss LaMarsh is really interested in looking for dirt in the Montréal CBC she might turn her attention to the local English-language set-up, which is the joke of the network. The news department is painfully inadequate, as any supertime television viewer is aware. The local public affairs content is spotty, anemic, cowardly. The program director of CBMT, a Mr. Ken Davey, is the archetypal civil servant, trained to make no decision other than to censor anything controversial, and he has filled his department with the dregs and hacks of the business. The CBC is not interested in spending any money on maintaining a competent service in Montréal, which could keep the nation rationally informed about Québec and give less room to hysterics. Instead entire expeditions from the Public Affairs Department of CBC Toronto descend on Montréal once a year with cameras and tape recorders and Berlitz books and ask "What does Québec want?"

Pierre Bourgault commented this week that the picket line on Dorchester Street in 1959 made nationalists and separatists out of many people who had not even been politically inclined before.

It would be equally accurate to say that Radio-Canada is a breeding ground for separatists — it's a good place to find out what a really bicultural country this is.

And so Miss LaMarsh strikes out on her journey across this vast land, promoting her political Dorothy Kilgallen column "Bird in a Gilded Cage" and generally adding little to people's retrospective estimation of the quality of the Pearson cabinet. Someone should clean out the bottom of her cage.

Quote of the day

"We must conclude that when these scholars deplore the use of violence to effect change, it is not violence, but rather social change that they find disturbing."
— Noam Chomsky

LETTERS

Extraordinary situation, unanswered questions

Sir,
I am writing this letter in comment on the extraordinary situation that has developed in Engineering. When I analyse this situa-

tion I come up with nothing but a lot of unanswered questions.

First, I ask myself why the Dean of Engineering in effect side-stepped the existing structure of the EUS to bring a proposal to the class presidents. For about six months the Dean and the EUS executive have been negotiating on the subject of student representation on the Faculty. A resolution was finally passed in Faculty, specifying the number of students and outlining the distribution and manner of selection. Although I do not agree with this procedure, that is not the point I want to raise. After all these negotiations have been settled in the eyes of the Dean, he then proceeds to go directly to the class presidents and invite them to elect representatives and send them to Faculty. I question the Dean's tactics in doing this especially since he had been going through the EUS executive up to this point. I would agree that perhaps the EUS executive is not the most democratic or even representative body. However, it is the only organized bargaining unit for students in the Faculty to date.

Then, the latest development came on the

part of my classmates in the Metallurgical Engineering Department. At a lunchtime meeting they voted on a motion to go ahead and elect a representative. On the surface, this is a very inconsequential move. However, the implication is one of rejecting the EUS structure. Some of the arguments that arose during the discussions were that there was a chance to have a representative on the Faculty Council, so let's jump at it. After it was all over they elected a man whose platform was to present a motion to Faculty asking that students have no vote on it. I ask myself why this happened and again I have no answer. I have more faith in my classmates than to think that this was clear naïveté on their part. However, I do feel that if they are dissatisfied with the existing EUS structure and do not want student representatives on Faculty, this is a backwards approach to the problem that will produce no solution.

To sum up, I feel that the EUS should reorganize according to what the students in the faculty want and that each student should have a voice in this matter. This whole issue of student representation has

never really been put to the students and it's time it was.

Michael Clarke
B. Eng. Met 5

MCGILL DAILY

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THE ASSENTING ACADEMY

the whoredom of
the liberal intellectuals



Daily sketch by Susan DUBROFSKY

The myth of the objective scholar dies hard. But the role of the American intellectual is now more clearly than ever one of rationalizing the status quo. In this article Noam Chomsky, professor of linguistics at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, examines his fellow academics' relationship with the centres of power and the ideology they use to justify that power.

by NOAM CHOMSKY

In a recent essay, Conor Cruise O'Brien speaks of the process of "counterrevolutionary subordination," which poses a threat to scholarly integrity in our own counterrevolutionary society, just as "revolutionary subordination", a phenomenon often noted and rightly deplored, has undermined scholarly integrity in revolutionary and post-revolutionary situations. He observes that "power in our time has more intelligence in its service, and allows that intelligence more discretion as to its methods, than ever before in history," and suggests that this development is not altogether encouraging, since we have moved perceptibly towards the state of "a society maimed through the systematic corruption of its intelligence." He urges that "increased and specific vigilance, not just the elaboration of general principles, is required from the intellectual community toward specific growing dangers to its integrity."

Senator Fulbright has developed a similar theme, in an important and perceptive speech. He describes the failure of the universities to form "an effective counterweight to the military-industrial complex by strengthening their emphasis on the traditional values of our democracy." Instead they have "joined the monolith, adding greatly to its power and influence." Specifically, he refers to the failure of the social scientists, "who ought to be acting as responsible and independent



critics of the Government's policies," but who, instead, become the agents of these policies. "While young dissenters plead for resurrection of the American promise, their elders continue to subvert it." With "the surrender of independence, the neglect of teaching, and the distortion of scholarship," the university "is not only failing to meet its responsibilities to its students; it is betraying a public trust."

The extent of this betrayal might be argued; its existence, as a threatening tendency, is hardly in doubt. Senator Fulbright mentions a primary cause: the access to money and influence. Others might be mentioned; for example, a highly restrictive, almost universally shared, ideology and the inherent dynamics of professionalization.

These various factors — access to power, shared ideology, professionalization — may or may not be deplorable in themselves, but there can be no doubt that they interact in such a way as to pose a serious threat to the integrity of scholarship in fields that are struggling for intellectual content and are thus particularly susceptible to the workings of a kind of Gresham's Law. What is more, the subversion of scholarship poses a threat to society at large. The danger is particularly great in a society that encourages specialization and stands in awe of technical expertise. In such circumstances, the opportunities are great for the abuse of knowledge and technique — to be more exact, the claim to knowledge and technique. Taking note of these dangers, one reads with concern the claims of some social scientists that their discipline is essential for the training of those to whom they refer as "the mandarins of the future" (3). Philosophy and literature still "have their value," so Ithiel de Sola Pool of MIT informs us, but it is psychology, sociology, systems analysis, and political science that provide the knowledge by which "men of power are humanized and civilized." In no small measure, the Vietnam war was designed and executed by these new mandarins, and it testifies to the concept of humanity and civilization that they are likely to bring to the exercise of power.

What grounds are there for supposing that those whose claim to power is based on knowledge and technique will be more benign in their exercise of power than those whose claim is based on wealth or aristocratic origin? On the contrary, one might expect the new mandarin to be dangerously arrogant, aggressive, and incapable of adjusting to failure, as compared to his predecessor, whose claim to power was not diminished by honesty about the limitations of his knowledge, lack of work to do, or demonstrable mistakes. In the Vietnam catastrophe, all of these factors are detectable. There is no point in overgeneralizing, but neither history nor psychology nor sociology gives us any particular reason to look forward with hope to the rule of the new mandarins.

In general, one would expect any group with access to power and affluence to construct an ideology that will justify this state of affairs on grounds of the general welfare.

Several years ago Seymour M. Lipset enthusiastically proclaimed in *Political Man* that "the fundamental political problems of the industrial revolution have been solved," and that "this very triumph of democratic social evolution in the West ends domestic

politics for those intellectuals who must have ideologies or utopias to motivate them to social action." During this period of faith in "the end of ideology," even enlightened and informed commentators were inclined to present remarkable evaluations of the state of American society. Daniel Bell, for example, wrote that "in the mass consumption economy all groups can easily acquire the outward badges of status and erase the visible demarcations." (4). Writing in *Commentary*, in October, 1964, he maintained that we have in effect already achieved "the egalitarian and socially mobile society which the 'free floating intellectuals' associated with the Marxist tradition have been calling for during the last hundred years." For all the detectable general rise in standard of living, the judgment of Gunnar Myrdal seems far more appropriate to the actual situation: "The common idea that America is an immensely rich and affluent country is very much an exaggeration. American affluence is heavily mortgaged. America carries a tremendous burden of debt to its poor people. That this debt must be paid is not only a wish of the do-gooders. Not paying it implies a risk for the social order and for democracy as we have known it." (5). Surely the claim that all groups can easily enter the mass consumption economy and "erase the visible demarcations" is a considerable exaggeration.

Similar evaluations of American society appear frequently in contemporary scholarship. To mention just one example, consider the analysis that Adam Ulam, the Harvard expert on Russian Communism, gives of Marx's concept of capitalism: "One cannot blame a contemporary observer like Marx for his conviction that industrial fanaticism and self-righteousness were indefinable traits of the capitalist. That the capitalist would grow more humane, that he would slacken in his ceaseless pursuit of accumulation and expansion, were not impressions readily warranted by the English social scene of the 1840's and 1850's. Again, for all the important changes in industrial society over the past century, it still comes as a surprise to hear that the capitalist has slackened in his ceaseless pursuit of accumulation and expansion" (7).

Remarks such as these illustrate a failure to sense the reality of contemporary society, which may not be directly traceable to the newly found (or at least aspired to) access to power and affluence, but which is nevertheless, what one would expect in the developing ideology of a new privileged elite.

Various strands of this ideology are drawn together in a recent article in *Encounter* by Zbigniew Brzezinski of Columbia, in which a number of the conceptions and attitudes that appear in recent social thought are summarized — I am tempted to say "profound change" taking place in the intellectual community, as "the largely humanistic, occasionally ideologically-minded intellectual-dissenter, who sees his role largely in terms of proffering social critiques, is rapidly being displaced either by experts and specialists, who become involved in special governmental undertakings, or by the generalists-integrators, who become in effect house-ideologues for those in power, providing overall intellectual integration for disparate actions."

He suggests that these "organization-oriented, application-minded intellectuals" can be expected to introduce broader and more relevant concerns into the political system. They are a new meritocratic elite, "taking over American life, utilizing the universities, exploiting the latest techniques of communications, harnessing as rapidly as possible the most recent technological devices." Presumably, their civilizing impact is revealed by the great progress that has been made, in this new "historical era" which America alone has already entered, with respect to the problems that confounded the bumbling political leaders of past eras — the problems of the cities, of pollution, of waste and destructiveness, of exploitation and poverty.

A related element in the ideology of the

liberal intellectual is the firm belief in the fundamental generosity of Western policy toward the third world. Ulam, again, provides a typical example: "Problems of an international society undergoing an economic and ideological revolution seem to defy ... the generosity — granted its qualifications and errors — that has characterized the policy of the leading democratic powers of the West." (8).

Still another strand in the ideology of the new emerging elite is the concern for order, for maintaining the status quo, which is now seen to be favorable and essentially just. An excellent example is the statement by fourteen leading political scientists and historians of US Asian policy, distributed Public Affairs Institute. These scholars December (1967) by the Freedom House refer to themselves as "the moderate segment of the academic community." The designation is accurate; they stand midway between the two varieties of extremism, one which demands that we destroy everyone who stands in our path, the other that we adopt the principles of international behavior that we require of every other world power. The purpose of their statement is to "challenge those among us who, overwhelmed by guilt complexes, find comfort in asserting or implying that we are always wrong, our critics always right, and that only doom lies ahead." They find our record

1- "Politics and the Morality of Scholarship," in *The Morality of Scholarship*, edited by Max Black, Cornell, 1967.

2- "The War and its effects—II," *Congressional Record*, December 13, 1967.

3- Ithiel Pool, "The necessity for social scientists doing research for Government," quoted by M. Windmiller in *The Dissenting Academy*, edited by T. Roszak, Pantheon, 1968.

4- "Status Politics and New Anxieties," in *The End of Ideology*, Free Press, 1960, p. 119.

5- In *Challenge to Affluence* (Pantheon, 1962), Gunnar Myrdal concludes that "in society at large there ever was. But for the bottom layer there is less or none." He questions the assumption that "America is still the free and open society of its cherished image and well established ideals" and remarks that "as less work is required of the type that people in the urban and rural slums can offer, they will be increasingly isolated and exposed to unemployment and plain exploitation. There is an ugly smell rising from the basement of the stately American mansion."

6- *The Unfinished Revolution*, Vintage, 1964, p. 97.

7- In 1965, 20 companies out of 420,000 made 38 percent of profits after taxes, earnings on foreign investment were well over three cents times what they were 15 years earlier. The sales of GM exceeded the GNP of all but nine foreign countries. The ten largest companies reported profits equal to the next 490. A thousand companies disappeared through merger.

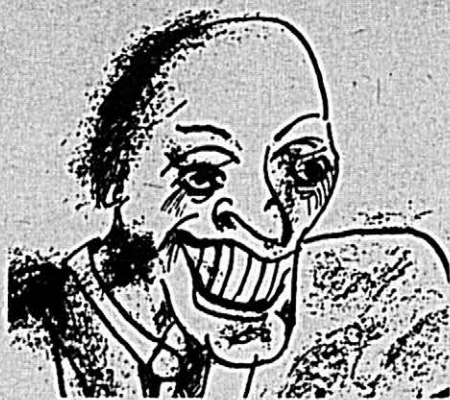
8- Op. cit. Less typical, and more realistic, is his belief that these problems also "seem to defy the social scientist's expertise." For some general discussions of this "generosity," see, for example, D. Horowitz, *Hemispheres North and South* (Johns Hopkins, 1966), and many other special studies. American public officials do not share this faith in our generosity, by and large. For example, the Assistant Secretary of State for Latin American affairs observed bluntly that "the State Department is not disposed to favor large loans of public funds to countries not welcoming out private capital" (*State Department Bulletin*, No 22, 1950, cited in Frederick Clairmonte, *Economic Liberalism and Underdevelopment*, Asia Publishing House, Bombay and London, 1960).

Eugene Black, testifying before Congress on the Asian Development Bank, pointed out that "when the Bank makes loans you have international bids, and I am sure that with our ability and ingenuity in this country, we will get our share of the business. We certainly ought to get more than the small amount we contribute." David Bell testified that "the Bank will play a major role in carrying forward another policy of our own assistance program—strengthening the role of the private sector... by identifying particular projects which can attract private capital, by helping to draw up development plans and stimulate policies which will encourage private initiative, by drawing private capital to the region." Nothing here about "the generosity that characterizes our policy."

Equally revealing is the history of programs such as the Alliance for Progress. As Senator Gore commented, this program "has in large measure come to be a subsidy for American business and American exporters," a fairly accurate judgement, so it appears.



What grounds are there for supposing that those whose claim to power is based on knowledge and technique will be more benign in their exercise of power than those whose claim is based on wealth or aristocratic right?



in Asia to be "remarkably good," and applaud our demonstrated ability to rectify mistakes, our capacity for pragmatism and self-examination" and "healthy avoidance of narrow nationalism," capacities which distinguish us "among the major societies of this era."

The moderate scholars warn that "to avoid a major war in the Asia-Pacific region, it is essential that the United States continue to deter, restrain, and counter-balance Chinese power." True, since the Korean War, "China has exercised great prudence in avoiding a direct confrontation with the United States or the Soviet Union," and it is likely that China will "continue to substitute words for acts while concentrating upon domestic issues." Still, we cannot be certain of this, and must therefore continue our efforts to tame the dragon. One of the gravest problems posed by China is its policy of "isolationist fanaticism," obviously a serious threat to peace. Another danger is the terrifying figure of Mao Tse-tung, a romantic, who refuses to accept the "bureaucratism essential to the ordering of this enormously complex, extremely difficult society." The moderate scholars would feel much more at ease with the familiar sort of technical expert, who is committed to the "triumph of bureaucratism," and who refrains from romantic efforts to undermine the party apparatus and the discipline that it imposes.

There is no doubt a substantial threat posed by China, from the point of view of the moderate scholars, though their statement fails to express it. The threat is revealed by such remarks as this by a liberal journalist from the Philippines:

In China a fourth of the human race have found the solution to the twin scourges of Asia: poverty and ignorance. Not completely, to be sure, but these have ceased to be the big problems of survival that they are in the rest of Asia. In evaluating the achievement of man, his ideology, the elimination of poverty and ignorance and disease — in a nation peopled by 700 million — is a feat to compare with the proudest successes of America and Russia in space exploration. Where man has done away with greed, envy, dishonesty, he has scored a signal victory for the human spirit. Man is uplifted and the human spirit is exulted. This is the reality of New China.

The spread of such attitudes threatens the long-range goals outlined prophetically long ago by Brooks Adams: "... to enter upon the development of Eastern Asia and to reduce it to part of our own economic system." In order to contain this threat, American policy seeks to hamper the development of China, while American scholarship raises the specter of Chinese aggression and fanaticism.

Moreover, the moderate scholars announce their support for "our basic position" in Vietnam. A Communist victory in Vietnam, they argue, would "gravely jeopardize the possibilities for a political equilibrium in Asia, seriously damage our credibility, deeply affect the morale — and the policies — of our Asian allies and the neutrals." By a "political equilibrium," they do not, of course, refer to the status quo as of 1945-46 or as outlined by international agreement at Geneva in 1954. They

do not explain why the credibility of the United States is more important than the credibility of the indigenous elements in Vietnam which have dedicated themselves to a war of national liberation. Nor do they explain why the morale of the military dictatorships of Thailand and Taiwan must be preserved. They merely hint darkly of the dangers of a third world war, dangers which are real enough, and which are increased when advocates of revolutionary change face an external counterrevolutionary force. In principle, such dangers can be lessened either by damping revolutionary ardor or by withdrawing the counterrevolutionary force. The latter, however, is unthinkable, irresponsible.

The crucial assumption in the program of the moderate scholars is that we must not encourage "those elements committed to the thesis that violence is the best means of effecting change." It is important to recognize that it is not violence as such to which the moderate scholars object. On the contrary, they approve of our violence in Vietnam which, as they are well aware, enormously exceeds that of the Vietnamese enemy. To further underline this point, they cite as our greatest triumph in Southeast Asia the "dramatic changes" that have taken place in Indonesia — of which surely the most dramatic has been the massacre of several hundred thousand people. But this massacre, like our extermination of Vietnamese, is not a use of violence to effect social change, and is therefore legitimate. What is more, it may be that those massacred were largely ethnic Chinese and landless peasants, and that the "counter-coup" in effect reestablished traditional authority more firmly. If so, all the more reason why we should not deplore this use of violence, and, in fact, the moderate scholars delicately refrain from alluding to it in their discussion of dramatic changes in Indonesia. We must conclude that when these scholars deplore the use of violence to effect change, it is not violence, but rather social change that they find truly disturbing. Social change that departs from the plotted course is not to be tolerated. The threat to order is too great.

So great is the importance of stability and order that even reform of the sort that receives American authorization must often be delayed, the moderate scholars caution. "Indeed, many types of reform increase instability, however desirable and essential they may be in long-range terms. For people under siege, there is no substitute for security." The reference, needless to say, is not to security from American bombardment, but rather to security from the wrong sorts of political and social change.

The policy recommendations of the moderate scholars are based on their particular ideological bias, namely that a certain form of stability — not that of North Vietnam or North Korea, but that of Thailand, Taiwan, or the Philippines — is so essential that we must be willing to use unparalleled means of violence to ensure that it is preserved. It is instructive to see how other mentors of the new mandarins describe the problem of order and reform. Ithiel Pool has formulated the central issue as follows:

In the Congo, in Vietnam, in the Dominican Republic, it is clear that order depends on somehow compelling newly mobilized strata to return to a measure of passivity and defeatism from which they have recently been aroused by the process of modernization. At least temporarily, the maintenance of order requires a lowering of newly acquired aspirations and levels of political activity. (10).

This is what "we have learned in the past thirty years of intensive empirical study of contemporary societies." Pool is merely describing facts, not proposing policy. A corresponding version of the facts

is familiar on the domestic scene: workers threaten the public order by striking for their demands, the impatience of the Negro community threatens the stability of the body politic. One can, of course, imagine another way in which order can be preserved in all such cases: by meeting the demands or, at the very least, by removing the barriers that have been placed, by force which may be latent and disguised, in the way of attempts to satisfy the "newly acquired aspirations." But this might mean that the wealthy and powerful would have to sacrifice some degree of privilege, and is therefore excluded as a method for maintenance of order. Such proposals are likely to meet with little sympathy from Pool's new mandarins.

From the doubly privileged position of the American scholar, the transcendent importance of order, stability, and nonviolence (by the oppressed) seems entirely obvious; to others, the matter is not so simple. If we listen, we hear such voices as this, from an economist in India:

It is disingenuous to invoke "democracy," "due process of law," "non-violence," to rationalise the absence of action. For meaningful concepts under such conditions become meaningless since, in reality, they justify the relentless pervasive exploitation of the masses; at once a denial of democracy and a more sinister form of violence perpetrated on the overwhelming majority through contractual forms. (11).

Moderate American scholarship does not seem capable of comprehending these simple truths.

To be more accurate, we should say that those liberal intellectuals who are in the mainstream of "responsible opinion" and whose voices are heard in the councils of state are incapable of comprehending the point of view of the oppressed and, correspondingly, formulate the problems of international affairs in entirely different ways. Thus Roger Hilsman suggests in his book *To Move a Nation* that the most "divisive issue" that faced the "hard-headed and pragmatic liberals" of the New Kennedy Administration was the problem of combating "modern guerrilla warfare, as the Communists practice it," that is, as "internal war, an ambiguous aggression that avoids direct and open attack violating international frontiers..." (emphasis his). Apparently, the hard-headed, pragmatic liberals were not divided over our right to violate international frontiers (and our treaty commitments).

As a prime example of the "kind of critical, searching analysis" that the new, liberal, revitalized State Department sought to encourage, Hilsman cites a study which explains how the United States might have acted more effectively in its attempt to overthrow the Mossadegh government in Iran. Why were we within our rights in overthrowing the Mossadegh and Arbenz governments (both, in Hilsman's view, legitimate governments)? The reason he gives is simple. Both men had concealed "the intention of creating a Communist state" — in fact, so well had they concealed this intention that to this day no one has been able to find significant evidence to demonstrate it. But Allen Dulles was "fundamentally right," according to Hilsman, in urging support for "loyal anti-Communist elements" even though, obviously, "no invitation was extended by the government in power."

Of course these attitudes persist. As an illustration, consider the book *No More Vietnams?*, the record of a conference held in June, 1968, at the Adlai Stevenson Institute of International Affairs, where a

9- "Hernando Abaya, *The Untold Philippine Story*, Quezon City, 1967.

10- "The Public and the Polity" in *Contemporary Political Science: Toward Empirical Theory*, edited by Ithiel de Sola Pool, McGraw-Hill, 1967.

11- Clairmonte, op. cit. See note 8.

From the doubly privileged position of the American scholar, the transcendent importance of order, stability, and non-violence (by the oppressed) seems entirely obvious; to others, the matter is not so simple.

It would seem to follow, then, that our failure in Vietnam is traceable to a serious inadequacy in our own political system: its inability to contain the moral outrage that resulted when we began to rain death on a country where there was no war.

number of scholars, "with special knowledge of the war and its implications" met to determine just what had gone wrong in Vietnam. The discussion is introduced by Professor Samuel Huntington, chairman of the Department of Government at Harvard and a prominent adviser to the State Department. He explains that in evaluating an intervention, "results are all that count". Thus the Dominican intervention appears to have been a success, even in the eyes of those who felt in 1965 that there were no "good political and moral grounds... whatsoever for intervening in the Dominican Republic."

Why? Because "whether or not there was a threat of communist takeover on the island, we were able to go in, restore order, negotiate a truce among conflicting parties, hold reasonably honest elections which the right man won, withdraw our troops, and promote a very considerable amount of social and economic reform. "Thus the intervention was consistent with the general purposes and methods of intervention, namely, the attempt "to minimize violence and instability in foreign countries" (though not, of course, to minimize the kind of violence accompanying our dramatic success in Indonesia; nor to support the kind of stability we find in Southeast Asia" — a "bitter truth but a real one," according to Professor Huntington).

Huntington's concern for stability and non-violence reveals itself still more clearly in his recent thoughts on the Vietnam situation in *Foreign Affairs* (July, 1968). Our problem in Vietnam is that "with half the population still in the countryside, the Viet Cong will remain a powerful force which cannot be dislodged from its constituency so long as the constituency continues to exist." Clearly, then, we must ensure that "their constituency" — the rural population of Vietnam — ceases to exist. Professor Huntington does not shrink from this conclusion. On the contrary, he notes that "in an absent-minded way the United States in Vietnam may well have stumbled upon the answer to 'wars of national liberation.'" He elaborates this answer in commenting on the claim of the counter-insurgency expert Sir Robert Thompson that guerrillas are immune "to the direct application of mechanical and conventional power." Not so, says Professor Huntington:

In the light of recent events, this statement needs to be seriously qualified. For if the "direct application of mechanical and conventional power" takes place on such a massive migration from countryside to city, the basic assumptions underlying the Maoist doctrine of revolutionary war no longer operate. The Maoist-inspired rural revolution is undercut by the American-inspired urban revolution.

What about the human consequences of the direct application of mechanical and conventional power" on a scale sufficient to eliminate the constituency of the Viet Cong by "forced-draft urbanization"? True, "the social costs of this change have been dramatic and often heart-rending," but this is not Huntington's department. He is not concerned with the social costs of the interesting sociological phenomenon of "urbanization," but rather with the new possibilities it affords "to minimize violence and instability in foreign countries."

Of course, Huntington continues, "after the war, massive government programs will be required either to resettle migrants in rural areas or to rebuild the cities and promote peacetime urban employment. In the meantime, while the war continues, urbanization is significantly altering the balance of power between the Saigon government and the Viet Cong." Thus while the war continues we can control the urban population in slums and refugee camps — some of which caused Senator Stephen Young, after a recent trip, "to think about what we denounced in World War II when we talked about Dachau and other concentration camps in Germany" — and then,

after the war, when the "right man" will have won in a "reasonably honest election," we can reverse the process of "urbanization" and even rebuild the cities we have destroyed, in a typical gesture of traditional American benevolence. Meanwhile, we can continue, absent-mindedly, to contribute to the theory and practice of political development by more intensive artillery and aerial bombardment in the rural areas.

A useful supplement to these views is provided, once again, by Professor Ithiel Pool, chairman of the Department of Political Science at MIT and a typical example of a liberal and "moderate" scholar. At the Stevenson Institute conference, Pool observes that "our worst mistake in Vietnam clearly was to initiate the bombing of the north." The explanation is interesting:

Before that started, it was my view that the United States as a democracy could not stand the moral protest that would arise if we rained death from the skies upon an area where there was no war. After the bombing started, I decided I had been in error. For a while there seemed to be no outcry of protest, but time brought it on. Now I would return to my original view with an important modification, namely, time. Public reactions do not come immediately. Many actions that public opinion would otherwise make impossible, are possible if they are short-term. I believe we can fairly say that unless it is severely provoked or unless the war succeeds fast, a democracy cannot choose war as an instrument of policy.

This is spoken in the tone of a true scientist correcting a few of the variables that entered into his computations — and, to be sure, Professor Pool is scornful of those "anti-intellectuals," such as Senator Fulbright, who do not comprehend "the vital importance of applied social science for making the actions of our government in foreign areas more rational and humane than they have been." In contrast to the anti-intellectuals, the applied social scientist understands that it is perfectly proper to "rain death from the skies upon an area where there was no war," so long as we "succeed fast." If victory is delayed, "the cohesion of the democratic community" will be destroyed by the choice of war as an instrument of policy. Furthermore, we cannot abandon this instrument of policy, for we must "come to realize that we can live in safety only in a world in which the political systems of all states are democratic and pacifically oriented" — like ours. Though it would be preferable "to influence political outcomes" without the use of force, we must continue to be ready "to cope with dangerous armed ideologies" as in Vietnam, at least until the various "aspects of our value system" — in particular, its "pacific orientation" — spread more widely throughout the world.

It would seem to follow, then, that our failure in Vietnam is traceable to a serious inadequacy in our own political system: its inability to contain the moral outrage that resulted when we began to rain death on a country where there was no war. This is precisely the conclusion reached by Professor Pool, who is not short on logic: "... we are paying an inordinate price for our goals" and "in that sense we certainly have failed — but more in the United States than in Vietnam. The agonizing political lesson that racks this country is that there has been a failure of our own political system." The performance of our political system has been "disappointing" and "gloomy" (but not too gloomy, since "there is no evidence that either the government or the majority of the public are ready to withdraw abruptly in disarray from Vietnam"). Our system has proven incapable of dealing with the "intensity of dissent" which, along with other factors, threatens domestic stability. "These are failings of which we

usually accuse the Vietnamese, but the criticism is more fairly addressed against ourselves."


In short, a democratic community is incapable of waging aggressive war in a brutal manner, and this is a failure of democracy. What is wrong is not the policy of raining death on an area where there is no war, still less the far more intensive bombardment of South Vietnam, which goes unmentioned. What is wrong is the inability of a democratic system to contain the inevitable dissent and moral outrage. The conclusion appears obvious, and we may ask how long it will be before at least some influential voices in liberal America will explain the necessity for removing the major impediment to the achievement of what Professor Pool refers to as "our national goals".

Huntington, incidentally, appears to share the qualms of his colleague regarding the inadequacies of democracy as a political system in a period when, as Pool puts it, we feel "massively threatened." Thus he recommends that our "involvements" be kept "reasonably limited, discreet, and covert" (my emphasis), and he feels that even the "shift toward introversion in our society" may have "side benefits," in that the "more limited forms of foreign involvement" to which we will be restricted will be facilitated "in the sense that there will be less public attention and concern directed to these issues."

The characteristics of Pool's more rational and humane social science approach are revealed in other remarks. Thus he observes, rather casually, that in 1964 "the only capable political structure in Vietnam (was) the Viet Cong," and that it was then "obvious that except for American forces the Viet Cong would take over Vietnam". He is impressed, however, by the fact that after the American invasion this is no longer so obvious, and this in his view justifies the American intervention. Recall the decisions that were taken by the American government in 1964, under the conditions that Pool describes. In *No More Vietnams?*, we learn from James Thomson, East Asian specialist at the Department of State and the White House between 1961 and 1966, that in the summer of 1964 the President's chief advisers met and decided unanimously that post-election strategy must involve the bombing of North Vietnam. This is a useful reminder in December 1968, of the relevance of electoral politics to questions of international affairs. In 1964, as Professor Pool is no doubt aware, there were no regular North Vietnamese units known to be in the South and only a bare trickle of supplies. Pool might also agree with the observation, at the same conference, of Daniel Ellsberg, a RAND Corporation consultant to the Department of Defense on Vietnam, that "the bombing in the South has gone on long enough to disrupt the society of South Vietnam enormously and probably permanently," that "we have of course, demolished the society of Vietnam." He might even concede that there is justice in the somber assessment of Bernard Fall that "it is Viet-Nam as a cultural and historic entity that is threatened with extinction" as "the countryside literally dies under the blows of the largest military machine ever unleashed on an area of this size." (12). None of this, however, suggests to the more rational and humane social scientist that perhaps we have committed even a worse "mistake" than adopting policies that threaten domestic stability.

In introducing the Stevenson conference proceedings, Huntington observes that "it is obvious that our involvement has imposed on us severe costs — in men, money, and psychological composure — which make it all look like a horrible mistake." He is concerned, however, that a misreading of the Vietnam experience may cause "a Vietnam hang-up" among future policy makers, who may tend to refrain from intervention even where its costs to us will be quite tolerable. Points of view expressed

It is necessary to continue in whatever way the times permit to construct a movement -- ultimately, one hopes, a mass movement -- that will be committed to radical social change and to resistance against all forms of oppression, destruction, and waste.



at the conference were diverse, but it is fair to say that these remarks of Huntington's represent something of a majority opinion. According to Stanley Hoffmann of Harvard, "Vietnam is an extreme case: the most inappropriate terrain for the application of concepts that have proved fertile and adequate elsewhere." It was not our goals in Vietnam that were wrong, but our "ignorance of the context and excessive self-confidence." In "negative interventions," as in Guatemala and Iran, where "we did not exactly know what we were for but we did know what we were against... we have sometimes been quite successful"; "as for this category of interventions, I would argue that in the future we at least ought to define more rigorously what it is that so threatens us that we feel we have to intervene either by political subversion or by military action."

There are other sources from which we learn what applied social science has to offer for the formation of more rational and humane policies. Consider, for example, a recent study by Charles Wolf, senior economist of the RAND Corporation. Wolf suggests that we abandon the approach of the "hearts-and-minds" school of counterinsurgency, replacing it with a more hardheaded model that has as its "unifying theme" the concept of "influencing behavior, rather than attitudes." In this more scientific approach, "confiscation of chickens, razing of houses, or destruction of villages have a place in counterinsurgency efforts" if they serve to shape behavior in desired directions. An added advantage of this more scientific approach is that it will "modify the attitudes with which counterinsurgency efforts are viewed in the United States" (when we turn to the United States, of course, we are concerned with people whose attitudes must be taken into account, not merely their behavior).

Perhaps the most interesting aspect of such scholarly work is the way in which the rhetoric of the behavioral sciences is used to lend a vague aura of respectability. One might construct some such chain of associations as this. Science, as everyone knows, is responsible, moderate, unsentimental, and otherwise good. Behavioral science tells us that we can be concerned only with behavior and control of behavior. Therefore we should be concerned only with behavior and control of behavior, audit is responsible, moderate, unsentimental, and otherwise good to control behavior by appropriately applied reward and punishment. Concern for loyalties and attitudes is emotional and unscientific. As rational men, believers in the scientific ethic, we should be concerned with manipulating behavior in a desirable direction, and not be deluded by mystical notions of freedom, individual needs, or popular will.

Let me make clear that I am not criticizing the behavioral sciences because they lend themselves to such perversion. On other grounds, the "behavioral persuasion" seems to me to lack merit; it seriously mistakes the method of science and imposes pointless methodological strictures on the study of man and society, but this is another matter entirely. It is, however, fail to inquire to what extent the popularity of this approach is based on its demonstrated achievements, and to what extent on the ease with which it can be refashioned as a new coercive ideology with a faintly scientific tone. In passing, I think it is worth mentioning that the same questions can be raised outside politics, specifically in connection with education and therapy.

Applied social science of the sort I have been discussing plays a dual role in counterrevolutionary efforts: an ideological role, in providing an aura of legitimacy for intervention; and a practical role, in designing and implementing "material and human resources control methods." In the former capacity, it has had some effectiveness in establishing the pretense that opposition to the barbarism of the "Vietnam war (or the use of such 'emotional' terms in describing it) is an exercise in "anti-intellectualism." I am in no position to judge how seriously this work

is taken by those who actually direct counterinsurgency operations. But in the Stevenson Institute conference, a number of participants who are in a position to judge indicated that it may be taken seriously. Adam Yarmolinsky states that "Vietnam turned out to be a testing ground for these new kinds of forces and techniques," rather in the way that Spain served as a "testing ground" for Hitler and Stalin thirty years ago. According to James Thomson, a "potential danger for the future of American foreign policy (is) the rise of a new breed of American ideologues who see Vietnam as the ultimate test of their doctrine" (his emphasis). They are "technocracy's own Maoists," and "their doctrine rides high." Evidently, the government takes this type of applied social science seriously enough to favor it with large grants. For example, Ithiel Pool, in addition to his confidential "research on Urban Insurgency," is currently directing \$18,000 worth of confidential research on a "Chieu Hoi Study" and \$320,000 worth on "Problem analysis, Republic of Vietnam," both for the Advance Research Project Agency of the Defense Department (ARPA), through the SIMULMATICS Corporation.

One is reminded of the prediction, made by Franz Borkenau thirty years ago in *The Spanish Cockpit* when commenting on the crushing on the Spanish revolution; in the future, "every revolution is likely to meet the attack of the most modern, most efficient, most ruthless machinery yet in existence," so that "the age of revolutions free to evolve according to their own laws is over." Borkenau was thinking of "the advent of fascism," which reverses the traditional alignment of forces in which "counterrevolution usually depended upon the support of reactionary powers, which were technically and intellectually inferior to the forces of revolution." He did not foresee that the liberal democracies would play the role that he assigned to the fascist powers.

Turning to the Vietnam war, we see his error. American policy, at this point, can hardly be subjected to rational assessment. What we observe is simply that the technology created by American science is running amuck, while academic apologists speak of "irony" and "blunders," and of the "tragic misapplication" of our "noble traditions," of our "grand ideals" and humanitarian goals thwarted by inadequate social science research. Recently released statistics indicate that nearly three million tons of bombs have been dropped in Vietnam about 4/5 of this total having fallen in South Vietnam, a figure that can be compared to the two million tons dropped by the US Air Force in all theaters in World War II and the 635,000 tons in Korea. In the face of such statistics, it is ludicrous to discuss the question of civilian casualties or the degree of devastation.

Since the Têt offensive, the United States has in effect adopted something like the "enclave strategy" recommended earlier by General Gavin, and American forces have been largely occupied with the attempt to hold the American bases and the cities — including the "assassinated city" of Huế that was virtually demolished, block by block, house by house, when American troops sought to recapture it from the NLF. At the Stevenson Institute Conference, Daniel Ellsberg pointed out that Saigon itself "is pre-eminently the 'oil spot' more and more. Almost the only one; with a few other cities and towns it is the home of the supporters of the (VN) people who have been driven to Saigon by what Huntington regards as our 'modernizing instruments' in Vietnam, bombs and artillery." Insofar as American strategy has an offensive component, it appears to be largely a matter of B-52 and other aerial attacks, which cannot, of course, be stopped by the Vietnamese resistance forces and which are systematically devastating large areas of South Vietnam from the suburbs of Saigon to the Cambodian and Laotian borders and beyond.

Information is scanty, but it appears that in the American-controlled areas, the last remaining "oil spots," there are signs

of erosion of support for the American war even among the urban bourgeoisie. At best, this support has been flimsy. Testifying before Congress, Rutherford Poats — AID director of the "other war" in Vietnam from 1964 — agreed that there was "certainly a substantial element of truth" in the charge by Congressman Donald Riegle that the commodity import program is a "ransom" paid "to essentially keep certain commercial interests happy enough that they will not get their sympathizers out in the streets and bring down the Government." He added that "the Government of Vietnam has not been able to mobilize national support in the way of sacrifices by individuals, financial sacrifices on the order desirable," and agreed that "commercial leaders... do not really have the level of commitment they need to have to get this job done. Since the Têt offensive, general disillusionment appears to have deepened. The Students' Association of Saigon last June submitted the following manifesto:

After the Têt offensive, the majority of South Vietnamese people saw that the country was about to undergo a historic change. After years of incessant fighting, the conflict cannot be solved by a military victory. On the contrary, the bombardments have caused more and more damage, exhausted the energy of the people and the national potentials. Up till now the destruction continues due to foreign imperialism. The national civilization has become therefore desperate. Aware of the danger of total extermination and seen for themselves how the bombardments have murdered the people, destroyed painstakingly erected constructions, the Representative Council of Saigon Students, before history, before the people, before the whole student community whose only aim is to serve the people, solemnly declares: It is now the moment to solve the Vietnamese conflict, to avoid the total extermination of the Vietnamese people...

Within a few weeks, the official newspaper of the Student Association was closed and its editor sentenced by a military tribunal to five years at hard labor, where he joins the President of the General Association of Saigon Students and many of the other officers of the Association, as well as Truong Dinh Dzu and innumerable others. According to the Saigon Daily News, there are 100,000 persons in South Vietnamese jails, suffering such conditions as these:

The Can Tho provincial jail (which) was built by the French for 500 prisoners is now used to keep over 2,000. Other prisons through the country are in a similar situation. Detainees have no room to sit. Legs of most prisoners have been swollen for having to stand on their feet to sleep...

The Saigon Daily News was suspended by the Government on November 14, the tenth newspaper closed in twenty days.

The situation in the occupied areas is illustrated in many small ways, for example, by the following passage in a letter from a Vietnamese girl to a friend in I.V.S.:

Sad news from Mai: She had been arrested by the government troops accused of being a VC spy. The police tortured her terribly, so she had been in the hospital for 2½ months. Now she is better, but still very weak. They put her in the prison now, claiming she has relatives with the VC. She could not find her family yet because the village got bombed (with)

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napalm so her parents ran away. I am so sad. I have known her for 15 years. She has been heartsick and quite innocent. Besides, she worked for Americans. Alas, no was in history can be dirtier than the one in Vietnam.

It is also revealing that late in 1967, physical requirements for the Saigon army were lowered, making young men eligible who weigh at least 77 pounds. (14) Those of us who cannot truly comprehend what it means to drop more than two million tons of bombs on South Vietnam can perhaps respond to simple facts like these.

But the most cynical aspect of current American military planning is indicated in the "extremely important gain" now anticipated by the allied military command:

If the North Vietnamese do not try to build up their forces as a result of the bombing halt... at least a division of American troops would be freed to carry out an operation long thought necessary by the military — the ferreting out of Vietcong leaders and cadres in Communist-dominated villages and hamlets around South Vietnam.

Thus if the "Communists" show their sincerity by restricting their military activities in the South, we will reciprocate by using our military forces to eradicate the political and administrative structure of the NLF, to deprive it of "a political way to take over South Vietnam."

As General Abrams explained to his senior commanders, (15) "The North Vietnamese personnel and units are totally dependent... for their existence as well as their military operations... (on) the political, administrative and para-military structure..."; it is this indigenous South Vietnamese structure "on which his whole movement depends." "So, you should go out and work against them and find them" — a proper goal for the American army of occupation. It is claimed we are having some success. The US military command reports an improvement in the kill-ratio, and attributed it to "the pressure being maintained by allied forces" which are seeking "to attack the entire North Vietnamese-Vietcong system in South Vietnam." (16)

The Times on November 23, quotes allied officials as pointing out that "a decrease in the activity of regular enemy forces logically leads to an increase in allied activity against guerrillas," and particularly, against "the Vietcong infrastructure, which is where so much of it really starts."

The Vietnamese resistance has reduced the range of likely outcomes in Vietnam to two: withdrawal of the American forces and a political solution, or the extinction of Vietnam as a cultural and historic entity. The choice between them lies in the hands of the American people, to a very considerable extent.

Americans who do not know how to influence present policy in favor of an end

to intervention and a political settlement, can turn for advice, say, to McGeorge Bundy. In his much-quoted speech at DePauw University on October 12, Mr. Bundy suggested that we terminate the bombing of the North and begin the withdrawal of troops. Thus he adopted the views that had been advanced previously only by "wild men in the wings," to use his terminology in an article in *Foreign Affairs* in January 1967. Why this sudden change? Not because "the countryside literally dies under the blows of the largest military machine ever unleashed against an area this size." Not because we have a solemn commitment to refrain from the use of force against those who are weak and helpless. Bundy regrets these aspects of the war, but he is not an irresponsible sentimentalist who would be swayed by such considerations. The primary reason for his reversal, he explains, is that the cost of the war to us is "plainly unacceptable"; "its penalties upon us all are much too great." A major cost is "the increasing bitterness and polarization of our people," the failure of our own political system" discussed by Ithiel Pool. Furthermore, Bundy continues: "There is a special pain in the growing alienation of a generation which is the best we have had. So we must not go on as we are going."

What Bundy is saying, in effect, is that the strategy of the resistance has been correct. The students who undertook to create a program of resistance at the elite universities assumed American policymakers to be so cynical that only considerations of cost would lead them to retreat from aggression. And the only serious "cost" that can be imposed by these young men and women is the threat that the managers of the society of tomorrow, the Yale graduating class, for example, will separate themselves from "the system," choosing jail rather than military service and questioning the legitimacy of our institutions in other ways. The important decisions are in fact made by the McGeorge Bundys of the world, and they are telling us, loud and clear, that they will retreat from aggression only when the cost to them is "plainly unacceptable." Those who wish to bring an end to war and repression will listen to this message, and act accordingly.

Much as the same is true in the second superpower. In the grim atmosphere of the Soviet Union, resistance can barely be contemplated. All the more, then, must we honor those who do make their voices heard: Pavel Litvinov, Mrs. Larisa Daniel, and the others of the "Moscow Five," or ex-general Pyotr Grigorenko who has publicly denounced the "totalitarianism that hides behind the mask of so-called Soviet democracy" and called upon his fellow-citizens to fight "the damned machine," and who has had the courage to stand up and say that "Freedom will come! Democracy will come!"

It is also true that resisters on all sides stand in a relation of mutual support. Those who resist the war here are fighting the same battle as Larisa Daniel and Pyotr Grigorenko. And they are fighting a common enemy: the militarists and managers ok repression on both sides of the iron curtain. For us, this resistance must take many forms. It must be directed against the Department of "Defense," the organization that Kenneth Boulding has called the "second largest centrally planned economy in the world" (17) — an organization that has spent more than a trillion dollars since World War II "to minimize violence and instability in foreign countries." It must be directed against the ABM and all other means of intensifying the arms race and increasing international tension; against NATO, which serves primarily as an excuse for the Soviet Union to subjugate more effectively its East European colonies and its own people. It must search for ways to direct our national energies away from

destruction and waste and toward socially useful production and constructive social change.

As rational person must be appalled at the waste of resources by the great powers, as well as by the shameful inequity of distribution. Revulsion against this scandal is expressed in a general way on both sides of the iron curtain, for example, by Academician Andrei Sakharov in his essay "Thoughts on Progress Peaceful Coexistence and Intellectual Freedom", (18) with its call for "changes in the psychology" of the American and Russian people so that "they will voluntarily and generously support their government and worldwide efforts to change the economy, technology and level of living of billions of people... for the sake of preserving civilization and mankind on our planet." Or by the American economist, John Pincus, who writes: (19)

One-third of the world lives in comfort and two-thirds in misery. Yet no day spares us the edification of lectures by the prosperous North on the South's grievous economic sins. It is all inescapably reminiscent of economists' nineteenth century diatribes against the idle and spendthrift poor in the emerging industrial states of that era. Unfortunately this century has not yet found on the international scene its Labour Party or its Bismarck to offer from left to right the politically effective retort to such self-serving homilies.



The problem of devising a "politically effective retort" is formidable. Government-induced production appears to be an important component in preserving the health of the economy (if one can use such a term as "health" when speaking of the arms race and the infantile competition to land a man on the moon). Taxpayers can be deluded into supporting the Roman Circus of the space race, or into believing that they must be armed to the teeth to keep the Viet Cong from swimming over the steal their television sets. It is different matter for people to surrender much of what they earn to rebuild the cities or to contribute to development in the third world. Furthermore, the latter effort is unlikely to benefit heavy industry or aerospace. The first problem is ultimately one of persuasion and education, perhaps. The second is probably one of resistance. If a large number of technologists were, let us say, to refuse to do secret research or to lend their talents to waste and destruction, this refusal would probably become an "illegal conspiracy," as it began to threaten deeply entrenched interests. Repression can also be expected if other forms of social organization — say, urban cooperatives — or another, more constructive use of technology were to reach significant proportions. For these and many other reasons, it is necessary to continue in whatever way the times permit to construct a movement — ultimately, one hopes, a mass movement — that will be committed to radical social change and to resistance against all forms of oppression, destruction, and waste.

There are some indications that this

may not be a fantasy. Close to home, I am encouraged by the many hundreds of students at MIT who have committed themselves to active participation in a sanctuary for an AWOL soldier — particularly when I recall that three years ago MIT students were equally committed to breaking up public meetings against the war, and that a teach-in was considered successful if it attracted 100 curious onlookers. Similarly, the growth of a national movement of resistance has surpassed in scale the expectations of most observers. In national terms, these may still be marginal phenomena, but they are not without significance, and they suggest that a long-term commitment may yield important results. Surely the change in mood in the universities during the past few years is remarkable. The "system" looks overwhelmingly powerful when one watches Mayor Daley's police or the B-52's, but it has its weaknesses, and one such weakness is its "personnel." The same technical intelligentsia that some see as the potential elite of the post-industrial society might help to concentrate social energies in very different places, if they can overcome the elitism and arrogance and factionalism that have been the curse of the Left. The Black Panthers have adopted Huey Newton's rendering of a Maoist slogan: "the spirit of the people is greater than the Man's technology." Those who create and control "the Man's technology" might play a role in giving some substance to his hope.

The universities are one natural center for the development of a movement of this sort. Honest inquiry is inherently "subversive," in any field. The physicist working at the borders of current knowledge will attempt to challenge assumptions that retard understanding, just as a creative musician will not try to compose Beethoven's tenth symphony but will explore and perhaps challenge fundamental aesthetic standards. And the same would be true of serious social inquiry, if it existed on any significant scale in the universities. In fact, it may be that a movement for resistance and social change might contribute to the evolution of a tradition of scholarship that is more humane and more objective, that will free itself from a commitment to social management in the interest of privileged elites and will explore and try to articulate the needs of those whose voices are stifled by ideological controls, by weakness and ignorance, by social fragmentation, or simply by repressive force. It is in such ways as these that the intellectual community can most effectively resist the "specific growing dangers to its integrity" of which O'Brien so rightly warns.

14- Tintuong, op. cit.

15- Christian Science Monitor, October 23, 1968.

16- New York Times, November 22, 1968.

17- In The Draft, edited by Sol Tax, Chicago, 1967.

18- Published in The New York Times, July 22, 1968 and, more recently, as a book.

19- Trade, Aid and Development, McGraw-Hill, 1967.



This article first appeared in the New York Review of Books.

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"Festival 69" can be a rather vicious spectator sport. These are not the type of plays you can watch dispassionately from the dark safety of the audience. This is not the type of drama you can hide from.

The spectator himself is the one who is "on" during these presentations. He is constantly forced to look at himself, to question his reactions. And he is not allowed to turn away. There simply is no manoeuvring space for the genteel cop-out. In one of the prime paradoxes of modern theater, the actors are on the

outside looking in. And wondering at what they find there.

Perhaps the most obvious example of this is McClure's The Beard. Ostensibly it concerns a surrealistic make. But what is at stake are the essentials of humanity itself. "Before you can pry any secrets out of me, you must first find the real me. Which one will you pursue?" This is the constant question of the girl repeated over and over until the audience itself is forced to grope for the answer. Everything is reduced to basics. "Fuck you!" becomes the summation of the intellect and the touching of a cock seems to be the farthest extension of man's universe.

In such a situation, the question of who is the real me becomes paramount. The characters on stage are incapable of supplying the answer. They are trapped in a circumscribed world which demands simple physical gratification. They can see no further than that. They can only ask. The girl's question remains unanswered on stage.

This throws the burden onto the spectator. He feels the man's frustration with the girl who will not sit on his lap and lick his boots. And he feels the absurd need to answer the question and the frightening realization that he can not. He is also forced to scrutinize his every reaction. The dialogue on stage becomes monotonously repetitious. You can almost talk along with the actors. Yet you are forced to turn farther inward to find out why it is also so disturbing.

The man says that they are both divine. Are they in heaven? In hell? Or more likely simply basic man without his superficial mask? Both the language and characters are simplistic but the spectator feels an odd kinship with them. What is worse, he can almost understand them.

In the end, they find satisfaction in purely physical sex. At the point of orgasm, the girl forgets her original question and accedes to the man's point of view that there is nothing beyond the experience of lust. That is the totality of existence.

But the audience is left unsatisfied. Perhaps the aftermath of this play is the most valuable point. Having seen it, you can't turn away or forget. The most basic questions concerning man's existence have been raised and you are compelled to attempt to answer them. Is "fuck" synonymous with "humanity"? And if not, what can you substitute? Who, in fact, are you? Having seen the play, this question seems to be of much more crucial importance than before. And there lies the power of the drama.

Sankey's The Golden Screw attacks its audience in a different manner. This piece chronicles the rise of a young recording star and his eventual disillusionment. It is handled in a rather unique fashion. You never see the "star" on stage. Rather you see a series of vignettes concerning the members of his scene — those who have influenced him or shit

on him. At the end of each scene, he sings a song inspired by the preceding action on stage.

Throughout most of the performance, you are allowed to watch a normal play complete with the smug satisfaction of a detached distance between you and the action. Only at the end does the audience discover that it is not the characters on stage who are being indicted but those who are watching the characters. This realization produces a palpable silence and then nervous applause. Some spectators may feel they have been had; others are genuinely bothered. It is the universal experience of the innocent who suddenly finds he is as guilty as everyone else. And that is the kind of guilt which doesn't go away.

The other two plays of the festival, The Man Who Said Yes, The Man Who Said No, by Bertold Brecht, and Tourneur's Revengers Tragedy, chronicle man's plight using the mediums of the Japanese Noh theater and mime. They promise to be as vital as the other two which premiered on Wednesday.

Although there are better plays of this genre, these are good examples of what modern theater is attempting to do. They are generally well acted and will be appearing through Saturday. The Golden Screw and The Beard appear in the Union Theater at 7:00 pm and 8:30 pm respectively. The Man Who Said Yes, The Man Who Said No and The Revengers Tragedy are in Moyse Hall starting at 8:30 pm. Tickets are available in the Union and at the door in Moyse Hall.

If possible, see them.



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arts and science undergraduate society

executive applications

Applications are hereby called for ASUS representatives on the following committees of the Faculty of Arts & Science:

Committee on Promotion & Standings - 4 representatives

The Committee meets to formulate general policy guidelines pertaining to standards of promotion, advancement, etc.

Curriculum Review Commission - 4 representatives

The Commission is mandated to consider changes in curriculum, programmes, etc. related to the introduction of one generation of 5-year pre-university-to-university students in the fall of 1969 and the transition to a three-year B-A/B.Sc. programme in 1971.

DEADLINE FOR SUBMISSION OF APPLICATION FORMS
(AVAILABLE AT THE UNIVERSITY CENTRE SWITCHBOARD) IS

4 PM - WEDNESDAY, JAN. 29

Paul Wong
Chairman Executive Applications Board

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Does Psych 200 have a future?

by David Tuross

The second of the Association of Psychology Students' seminars, entitled "The future of Psychology 200", might well have been called "The Failure of Psychology 200", as it was originally mis-labelled.

Before an audience of about 100 yesterday, Professors Stern, Melzack, and Kingsbury, of McGill, and Professor Stanley Munoz of Sir George, spoke, ostensibly at least, to the topic of the future of the introductory psychology course.

Professors Kingsbury and Munoz were actually present more as reference sources than anything else, each relating his own experience with introductory psychology courses at the University of Western Michigan and at Sir George Williams University, respectively.

At both these institutions the introductory psychology courses are similar to those at McGill in that they must process an extremely large number of students with a vast amount of subject matter.

The system described by Professor Kingsbury broke down into groups of fifty, a total of about 1000 students. The groups were then further divided into discussion groups of four students each, each such group subject to occasional electronic monitoring by the instructor. A pass/fail grading system is used.

Professor Munoz described a system initiated last term at

Sir George in which no student fails, provided that he at least attempts all tests and assignments. According to Professor Munoz, this system has not produced an abnormally large amount of poor work on the part of the students.

Professors Melzack and Stern at that point outlined what they considered to be the most valuable changes they could make in the present course: televised lectures with taped segments. The current method involves videotaping a live lecture, and then replaying it for other sections.

Another improvement mentioned by Melzack was the institution of small discussion conferences on an experimental basis.

The complaints of psychology students that the introductory course was narrow, used only one text, and presented only one viewpoint were answered by Melzack who assured the audience that the single text, by Professor Hebb of McGill, would be supplemented by mimeographed readings.

Melzack also said, however, that although Freud, Jung and Alder may be covered in the psychology course, they represent the history of psychology, and will be superseded by experimental, or behavioral, psychology, such as is treated by Professor Hebb's text.

Moderator Rick Levy termed the discussion "part of a general re-thinking of the psychology program at McGill."

The pleasure of the company of all Daily desk editors is requested at a meeting today in the Daily offices at 1 pm. COME.

what's what

FILM WORKSHOP

All members of the Film Workshop are asked to finish shooting and editing their current films. The meeting will be held the first week in February. For editors call 845-3331

JAMES TURNER

James Turner, author and political sociologist, will speak at 1 pm today in Leacock 13 on "Black Man in a White Defined Society." The lecture is the first in an informal series co-sponsored by the Black Students Association of SGWU and the Debating Union.

ENGINEERING BLOOD

Engineers will hold their annual Blood Drive next Tuesday, January 28, in conjunction with Engineering Week. The clinic will be open from 9:30 am to 6 pm in the McConnell Engineering Building. Refreshments and door prizes available. Objective is 700 pints.

GREGORY TO SPEAK

Dick Gregory, American Presidential candidate, comedian and civil rights worker, will speak Monday night in the Union Ballroom. The event is sponsored by the Debating Union.

BLOOD DRIVE '69

Applications are now being accepted for the following executive positions on Blood Drive '69:

- Vice Chairman (clinic)
- 2 Vice Chairmen (public relations)
- external & internal
- Executive Secretary
- Treasurer

Forms are available at the Students' Society Office and must be handed in at the Union Switchboard by today Friday January 24th. 1969 at 4 pm.

McGill's winningest squad seeks 14th triumph

Red hoopmen face Laval tonight

by Ira Turetsky

The finest athletic team at this University will display its various and sundry talents once again. The Redmen basketball team, a group once synonymous with mediocrity, will host the Laval University Rouge et Or in a combination OQAA-Coupe de Québec game.

The Redmen are fresh from their most impressive triumph of the season, a 108-95 romp over the previously unbeaten Fort Kent State Bengals. The win over the Yankee squad gave the team their sixth straight victory, and it upped its record to 13-2. Last year's edition of the Redmen managed to win 13 games in the entire season, and no-one can remember the last time that a McGill basketball team won six games in a row.

COUPE DE QUEBEC RACE

As a result of their heroics, Coach Mooney's charges find themselves in first place in the

Coupe de Québec with a 6-0 record. Unfortunately, they contrived to lose a game to Carleton, and they are presently in second place in the more important OQAA.

Tonight, the team will seek to become the winningest basketball entry since 1961-62. Laval does not figure to prevent this. Last November, the teams met. At that time, the Redmen had been practicing for only three weeks, and they were without the services of Steve Fraid, the team's second leading rebounder and third leading scorer. In spite of these handicaps, and a rather lethargic performance, the Red and White came up with a 93-66 victory.

NASKO HOT

Thirteen games later, the Redmen are a much improved team. They are averaging a cool 90.5 points per game compared to the opposition's 69. The leading scorer is, of course Nasko Golomeev. Golomeev's average con-

tinues to climb. It stands at 31.8, but in his last eight outings, the giant center has been clicking for a 39 point average. More importantly, he has been coming up with big games against tough opposition, with 49 against Fort Kent and 39 against Loyola.

The McGill University single game scoring record of 52 points appears to be within easy range for Golomeev. However, he has been receiving ample support from his team mates. Pierre Brodeur, a great scorer in his own right, is averaging 22 points per game, while doing a good job rebounding and bringing the ball up the court. Steve Fraid owns a 14.6 average, while Sam Wimsner and Dave Leibson have combined for 17 points.

In tonight's contest, the team might well improve upon some of its scoring statistics. This will depend mainly on the type of ball that Coach Mooney choose to play. It is very likely that Mooney will try to get a good look at his

reserves. These players are not up to the quality of the starting five, but they are all that there is, and they need work. At times they have looked competent, but at times they would have trouble holding off a strong nursery school contingent. With more playing time, both as a unit and with members of the first string, the substitutes should become

capable, if not dazzling, replacements when they are called upon.

Tonight's game should help the team iron out some weaknesses as they prepare for their rematch with Carleton next week. The game will begin at 8 pm, in the gym, and it will follow an important CIBL contest between front-running Loyola and the second place Indians.



BOUNCING BENGAL: Keith Crouth (21) of Fort Kent Bengals leaps for basketball while Dave Leibson (22) stands guard. Redmen took contest 108-95 for their thirteenth win against only two defeats.

Women's Athletics

SKI DAYS

Transportation: Lesson: Tows: Meal: 8:00 a.m. - 7:00 p.m.
\$4.00 Jan. 30th - Register by 25th; Feb. 5th and 11th -
Register 10 days ahead. Call now! Places are limited!

COURSES OF INSTRUCTION

Attend this week! Your last opportunity to register! Skiing: Skating: Keep Fit: Badminton: Aquatics: Golf: etc. Vacancies in most courses.

INTRAMURAL COMPETITIONS

Ski Meet - Feb. 4th-Entries to be submitted by 4:30 p.m. Jan. 28th. Gymnastics Meet - Feb. 5th: Enter by noon of Jan. 31st. Fencing Championships - Feb. 6th: Entries accepted up to meet time.

For further information call Women's Athletics Office 555 Sherbrooke St.W., 392-4547

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Visit Ottawa Gee-Gees Sunday

Fifth place Redmen skate against Laval

by Ian Urquhart

For the sake of efficiency, the Athletic department will not recruit numerous football, hockey and basketball specialists in the future, according to Redmen puck coach Brian Gilmour. Instead, he and football-basketball coach Tom Mooney will work together to collect a small core of athletes for all seasons.

As proof that the plan is feasible, Gilmour will field four (4) football players at the Winter Stadium tonight in an OQAA match against third place Laval. In addition to guard Cliff Moore, quarterback Skippy Kerner and defensive-halfback Ken Ross, flanker Pater Bender will don skates for the first time as a Redman.

All this gridiron muscle is needed to cope with the big Frenchmen. Although the Rouge et Or are now in third place, they have lost only once, and that was in the dying seconds to the Carabins at Montreal last week. They whipped the Redmen twice before Christmas, 7-4 and 4-2.

Sunday, the fifth place Redmen have a relatively easier assignment when they make their fourth and final trip to the capital city to meet the cellar-dwelling Ottawa Gee-Gees in a game rescheduled from last week because of a mix-up in the time and place.

Laval lists six players over 190 pounds and uses this size to great advantage in simply grinding down weaker teams. Typical of their personnel is team scoring leader Jean

Rioux, who stands 6-3 and weighs 205. In addition to leading his team in scoring in League games with 13 points, the big centre leads the Eastern Division in penalties with 31 minutes in six games, 22 of them coming in the 4-2 victory over the Redmen.

ROUGE ET OR SLUMP

But the Rouge et Or are not without problems. Apparently hardrock defenceman Alain Bergeron, who racked up 80 penalty minutes in 14 games in the OQAA last season, has quit the team. And centre Guy Morel and winger Normand Côté, who finished eighth and ninth respectively in the OQAA scoring race last year, cannot crack the top ten in the East this year. Morel especially is slumping with only nine points; he had 58 in the two previous seasons combined.

Furthermore, Laval is now involved in a scramble for the top position with Montreal and Carleton, whereas previous to last week's defeat, they seemed a cinch to walk away with the pennant.

Ottawa, on the other hand, seemed destined to go through the fifteen game season without winning a game when they unexpectedly trounced the fast-falling Gaels of Queen's, 5-2, last Sunday. The Gee-Gees have few players of even Junior 'B' calibre, but they play a disorganized game that can confuse an overconfident team. And the match with the Redmen will be in the Minto Barn, an unfriendly rink to visit. McGill overcame Ottawa

last December, 7-3, in that rink, however.

Gilmour will play Bender at left-wing for the weekend games, but it is unlikely the fleet flanker will see much action. He was playing intramural hockey and will need time to acclimatize to intercollegiate play. Likewise for Moore, who was coaching the RVC team.

MOLSON STADIUM TALENT

With the influx of talent from Molson Stadium, plus the promotion of reluctant winger George Bell from the Indians, Gilmour now has the luxury of deciding whom not to dress. Terry Harron, the little centre who has not scored since the opening game against Sir George, and the insouciant Graeme Tennant will probably watch from the stands along with still-injured George Hamilton.

Even if the Redmen lose to Laval, as expected, a win over the Gee-Gees can move them into a tie for fourth with Queen's. The Gaels, with six points to the Redmen's four, host the Carabins and the Rouge et Or this weekend, and a win over either is extremely unlikely. If anyone is going to pull an upset this weekend it will be Gilmour's team, which has been lifted by a good, albeit losing, effort against Carleton Sunday, and their first win in six weeks over Sherbrooke Tuesday.

A win over the Rouge et Or would even the Redmen's Cou-

pe de Québec record at 4-4, but this competition has proven to be a token through which the coaches can persuade their players to give 100 per cent in non-league games. The token has failed; the players do not give a damn about the Coupe. Aside from the forced nature of the competition, the cause for its failure rests with the Loyola athletic department, which is co-ordinating all Coupe de Québec statistics and scheduling, which means that such arrangements are unco-ordinated in the Loyola tradition.

No one knows for so sure who is leading in the Coupe de

Québec standings. A good guess is Loyola, with only a loss and a tie against provincial opponents. McGill is out of it.

SLAP SHOTS: According to Dink Carroll's column in the Gazette, McGill has been playing intercollegiate hockey for 88 years... Jean Dupéré leads the Redmen with seven goals, not nine as previously reported... Carleton hosts Montreal tomorrow in a crucial game for both teams... George Kemp and Peter Burgess of the Redmen are tied for tenth in scoring in the East with ten points each; Kemp leads the team in all games with fifteen points.

Indian hoopsters hot; Make first place bid

This evening, the JV basketball team will attempt to grab a share of first place in the intercollegiate league, when they face the Loyola Braves. Judging from their last performance, anything can happen.

Tuesday night, despite negative crowd support, the Indians reluctantly found themselves on the winning end of a 76-75 score. The opposition was provided by the Junior Davis YMHA team, minus its forward line. The game was close from the opening tap, thus lulling this reporter into a false sense of security. Only during the last 30 seconds did the two teams, and the referees, recognize the possibility of overtime, and acted accordingly to prevent such a catastrophe. Everyone present was quite relieved.

The JV team is an enigma. They can play atrocious and/or stellar basketball often at dif-

ferent ends of the court. Tuesday, John King Kong Derby scored 27 points, grabbed 15 rebounds, and salvaged some degree of respectability for his cohorts. Baby Face Roseman added 15 points and 16 rebounds, and looked lackadaisical every second. Irwin Abrahams, Bob Wylie and Flash Thompson each counted 10 points.

When the Indians face Loyola tonight they must realize that hustle is an asset, not a liability. Otherwise they will quickly find that the basketball court is not the best place to take a nap; you get stomped on too much.

Coach John Rumble's boast that this year's rendition of the Indians is superior to last year's will be put to the test tonight. It would help greatly if the team had some encouragement from McGill students; empty bleachers don't do anyone much good.

IVAN the TERRIBLE

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FOR SALE

JANIS JOPLIN, "Cheap Thrills" and "Super Session" only \$3.33 in super Columbia sale. Other artists including Dylan, Donovan, Laura Nyro, Blood Sweat & Tears, Simon & Garfunkel, and many more... only \$3.89 at Phantasmagoria, 3472 Park (near Milton).

ORGAN, worth six hundred new, year old, perfect condition. Reason: need \$250 desperately. 844-0611, ask for 710 or leave message.

SINGLE CONTINENTAL BED. Good condition. \$20. 842-6575. Keep trying.

HOUSING

MODERN FURNISHED 1 1/2 to sublet 3620 Lorne Crescent. 843-8347 after 6.

WANTED: HIP MALE to share mystical pad. Phone 844-5413 - 418 Prince Arthur apt. 2. Try often.

COLONIALE (3496A) corner Sherbrooke. 10 min. walk to McGill. 5 rooms (furnished) newly decorated (large back yard). Immediate Occupancy. 274-5829.

LARGE ROOM TO RENT: With dark and private bathroom. Very quiet. Pool. Easy transportation to downtown. Call Mrs. J. Eves. 435-7592.

GIRL TO SHARE luxury 15th floor apartment in downtown. Five minutes to McGill College. 843-6686.

HIP ROOMMATE (MALE) wanted to share 2 1/2 room furnished apt. on University. \$67.50. Call 845-6082 and leave number.

DUROCHER St. Sublet. 2 1/2 rooms. 135.00. Call 932-4269 after 4 pm.

LOST

ONE "BEAR OF A CLIP" Clipboard with notes on Chinese History and with colored 1969 calendar underneath. Contact Daily Advertising office.

BALL POINT PEN "Lammy 2000". in McConnell Engineering Bldg. Call 738-6937.

LOST

FOUNTAIN PEN "Parker 51" McConnell Engineering. Nov. 21 Reward. Call John 392-4809.

MISCELLANEOUS

ANYONE KNOWING the whereabouts of Marcus R. Kunian B.A.1 who mysteriously disappeared April 1, 1968. phone J.E.H. collect. 202-393-7100.

EUS BLOOD DRIVE - Tuesday, Jan. 28, 9:30 am - 6 pm. McConnell Engineering (common room) - refreshments, door prizes, droplettes and Engineering Princesses.

LOVELY MALE (5'7") 21 yrs. and fourth year student desires female companion to overcome loneliness. All replies to: McGill Daily c/o Advertising Office Box 1.

THE FLYING CLUB will be sponsoring a skydiving course soon. If you are interested, sign up now at the Union bulletin board.

J.E.H. to contact M. R. Kunian, BA 1. Call collect 202-351-1000.

MOC SKI TRIP to Mont Echo Sunday Jan. 26. Tickets at Union \$5.50 includes bus, tow and lessons.

POSTGRADUATE STUDENTS: Beer bash on Friday, Jan. 24, 9 pm to 1 am. Union Coffee Shop. Admission 50 cents.

ROBERT CULLEY is hereby nominated for Principal. Friends of Culley Committee.

CONFIDENTIAL: Remember that girl you've had your eye on all year? Why don't you nominate her for Carnival Princess? Nomination forms can be picked up at the Carnival office, Students' Union, 4th floor. It might put her eye on you.

SUNNY HARVEST FAN CLUB - Noon: A-270. Topic: "Is rolling in hay an equivalent relation." New members welcome... bring pitch-forks.

JAZZ PIANIST AND DRUMMER (student) need bass or guitar player. Call 849-3122 before 9 am.

RIDES

CARS AVAILABLE: Toronto, western Canada, Maritimes and Florida. No charge, current license. Age 21 or over. Call Montreal Drive-Away Service Ltd., 4018 St. Catherine St. W. Montreal 937-2816. Call anytime.

WANTED TO TORONTO: Would like to leave Friday eve or Saturday morn. Will share expenses. Call John. 843-5837

TUTORING

FINDING Chemistry, Physics, other subjects difficult. Tutoring aid available only one dollar per session. Applications, Dawson Hall, Union Rm. 411.

NEED HELP IN CHEMISTRY? Private tutoring service in general chemistry and physical chemistry. Call 843-7187 after 6 pm or before 9 am.

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TYPING SERVICE. 481-2512. From 25 cents per page. Fast, accurate. Theses, term papers, essays, stencils, letters, reports, manuscripts, notes.

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WANTED

A SECOND-HAND RADIO with FM. Phone: 845-5968, evenings after 8.

CURRY MODEL - Lakeshore Professional photographer requires girl for "body-painting", advertising picture and other glamour work. Fee open to discussion with prints included. Transportation provided. Call between 9 and 6. Ask for Mr. Downs, 697-2512.

ACTRESS URGENTLY NEEDED by Montreal's fastest-growing underground film organization. Must have interest since there is no pay. Contact Uranus Pictures. Claude 273-5002 or Sam 324-8430 evenings.

PIANIST SEEKS STRING PLAYERS for Brahms Chamber Music. Call Duncan 481-7294.



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Students' Society BY-ELECTION Vice-President - Internal WEDNESDAY, JAN. 29, 1969.

Qualifications:

President I.S.A. (International Student Association, '68-'69) McGill Representative at C.S.O.S.T. Convention in Windsor, Ont. '68. Students Coordinator of Graduates' Society Hospitality Programs '68-'69. Treasurer McGill French Society '67-'68.

Proposals:

AS EXECUTIVE AND COUNCIL MEMBER

The University - (Students, Professors, Administration) should contribute to society by being critically active both on provincial and national issues.

Continue and intensify the co-op housing project already undertaken by the Student Council.

Establishment of a legal aid service.

Reevaluation of bookstore and service.

Parity on all departmental committees.

Trimester system: third term optional to students.

Representation by POPULATION on council.

To eliminate horror of eating in sloppy cafeteria:

- 1) Increase the number of part time employees for clean up.
- 2) Improve atmosphere by varying the menu and by serving international dishes.

Arrange to transform coffee lounge into a discothèque "boîte à chansons" on specific evenings.

COMMITTEE FOR THE CANDIDATE



JOSEPH S. BASSILI, BSc.3

HILARY WASS, BA 4

Hilary Wass feels that it is time for a serious approach to the manifest problems of the Students' Society, and solutions that will benefit all McGill students. It is time for a candidate without ties to any political faction.

Priorities:

- Low-cost student housing must be available by next fall.
- Demand a guarantee of price and quality of cafeteria food when contract is awarded, and enforce guarantee.
- Constitution must be amended.
- Student ombudsman to handle specific grievances of individual students, and strengthen communication between executive and students.
- Re-allocate office and parking space in University Centre to make it a meeting ground for all students. Utilize all available space (third floor lounges) and push for expansion.
- Parity on departmental committees.
- More positive role in UGEC: encourage establishment of legal aid fund for all Quebec students.

COMMITTEE FOR THE CANDIDATE



TED SPEEVAK, BSc.2

The Candidate:

The candidate is a warm, understanding person who has carved a niche for himself in many girls. He is an able politician, always in the middle, rapidly darting forward, then pulling back, finally settling the issue with a spurt of warm understanding.

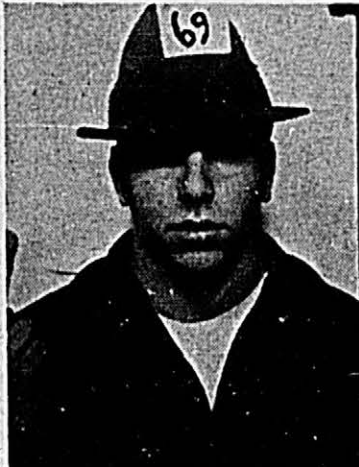
The candidate and PHALLUS promise to penetrate all unexplored regions of McGill.

Platform:

- merger of the residences to ensure the future population of McGill;
- abolition of the Daily - put a man hole on a sewer
- creation of an autonomous state consisting of McGill, the Manse and the Playboy Club;
- installation of vending machines in the library for students getting books from the stacks;
- hire the Polish National Hockey Team to help the Redmen;
- installation of bidets in all common rooms and in the Union for gargling.

PHALLUS PUTS IT TO YOU STRAIGHT!

COMMITTEE FOR THE CANDIDATE



CHRIS HOFFMANN, BSc.4

Priorities:

Immediate action on the STUDENT HOUSING crisis: investment by McGill from its \$100,000,000 endowment fund in a co-operative residence.

Continuation of present executive policy including: Democratization of university government on a parity basis. Student participation in selection of administrative and academic personnel.

Support of principle of the CRITICAL university. Institution of educational EXPERIMENTATION.

Initiation of a TRIMESTER system.

Immediate revision of LIBRARY POLICY:

24 hour/day - 7 day/week operation

library accessible to public.

RECONSTITUTION of the Students' Society as a federation of graduate and undergraduate societies.

Delegates to Students' Council on a basis of Rep by Pop.

Proposals for the University Centre:

NEWSSTAND

COFFEE HOUSE in evenings and Union LIQUOR LICENCE

increased STUDENT EMPLOYMENT

improved CLEANLINESS and SERVICE.

Experience:

- University Libraries Committee; Student-Libraries Liaison Committee; Senate Committee for Sessional Dates; Communications Chairman, Rendez-Vous '68.

COMMITTEE FOR THE CANDIDATE



MICHAEL E. CHODOS, BCL 1

Background:

President, Scarlet Key Society; Chairman, McGill International Debating Tournament, 1968.

Platform:

Top priority on housing for students, to ensure each student adequate lodgings at low cost; improvement of residence conditions.

- Positive action to alleviate summer employment crisis; pressure for trimester system.

- Expansion of university centre facilities to meet needs of growing student population.

- Re-evaluation of cafeteria and bookstore policies and quality; general streamlining of Students' Society operating procedures.

- Parity on Departmental Committees while ensuring that departmental student associations are representative of the students in each department.

- Demand for establishment of new credit-carrying courses sought by students; creation of own supplementary courses if necessary; course reform and re-evaluation of marking systems.

- Establishment of legal aid service for rent and lease disputes.

- Attention to special needs of smaller faculties; better communications between Student Government and students, to encourage wide participation rather than quasi-professional "elite" rule.

COMMITTEE FOR THE CANDIDATE

CYCOM

Course in
Assembler
Programming
starts today

McDonald Engineering
Rm. 279 1 pm

Registration

for new members

starts today thru Thursday

McDonald Engineering
Rm. 406 1 pm

REGISTRATION FOR TOURS WILL BE HELD

OPPORTUNITY TO ACQUIRE FLUENCY IN FRENCH

during four weeks summer course in the delightful Mediterranean city of Montpellier, France, for students of McGill University only (all faculties welcome): June 30th - July 27th. **\$555.00 per person** (maximum enrolment 50 students).

Price includes:

1. Air fare Montreal-Montpellier return (no deviation possible)
2. Daily periods of intensive study by qualified French professors (school inspected and approved by McGill staff member)
3. Room and board in French families.
4. Excursions, sightseeing and trips to the beach.
5. Insurance.

For Pamphlets available in lobby (right side) of Peterson Hall.
For further information call Mrs. J. Lowensteyn at 622-0747.

The Unyearbook...

Time was when Old McGill was not meant for undergraduates.

And no one seemed to mind. Every graduating student could proudly point to his or her picture in five or six different parts of the book:

With the RVC Hockey Team. With the executive of the Newfoundland Club. With the McGill ROTC.

The yearbook was a nice bit of nostalgia by which to remember your four years at McGill.

But (even in those days) undergraduates weren't the nostalgic type.

Well, McGill has changed a great deal since those days when Newfoundlanders gathered in the McGill Union on Wednesday nights to reminisce about the homeland. As a matter of fact, things are changing so rapidly that everyone, even undergraduates, is interested in where this change is leading to.

Old McGill '69 is not really a yearbook. It is an attempt to study the change which is transpiring at McGill. We have replaced pictures of girls' hockey teams and Newfie nationalists with analytical articles about our university.

Someone who is leaving McGill this year might not be interested in this sort of thing.

But Old McGill isn't just meant for graduates.

Undergraduate sales campaign all next week. We will accept cheques.

...for Undergraduates